

AMERICA



Richard Lyon Hughes





AMERICA

THE GREAT ADVENTURE

ALSO BY

GEORGE PHILIP KRAPP

THE KITCHEN PORCH

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS IN COLOR
AND BLACK AND WHITE BY
THELMA CUDLIFF GROSVENOR



COLUMBUS DISCOVERS AMERICA ANNO DOMINI 1492



AMERICA

THE GREAT ADVENTURE

A HISTORY FROM THE DISCOVERY
TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY
GEORGE PHILIP KRAPP

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY
PHILIP VON SALTZA



NEW YORK ALFRED · A · KNOPF MCMXXIV

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SEPTEMBER, 1924 · SET UP, ELECTROTYPED, AND PRINTED
BY THE VAIL-BALLOU PRESS, INC., BINGHAMTON, N. Y. ·
PLATES ENGRAVED BY AETNA PHOTO-ENGRAVING COMPANY,
NEW YORK · PAPER SUPPLIED BY W. F. ETHERINGTON & CO.,
NEW YORK. · BOUND BY H. WOLFF ESTATE, NEW YORK ·

MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To E. VON S. K.

PREFACE

The discovery of America was the last great adventure in the exploration of the earth's surface. Nothing like it can ever happen again, for there are no continents left to be discovered. And following the discovery there came a great outpouring of the peoples of Europe to the new land who, as pioneers and builders of new nations, played exciting parts which in all likelihood can never fall to the lot of any future generations.

But though there are no longer any virgin wildernesses to explore, no tribes of hostile Indians to fight, no new nations of pioneers to come into existence on the frontiers of a savage world, nevertheless the great adventure in America is by no means ended. What was done in America three or four hundred years ago is interesting and important, but so also are the happenings in America of our own day. The history of America is not finished. America has a future as well as a past, and no one knows with certainty just what the new discoveries in America will be. What we do know is that this future lies in the hands of those who are to become the citizens, and thus the builders, of the nation of the future.

The early discoverers and explorers had their work to do. They laid the first foundations. Upon these foundations, generation after generation has been building, and the Americans of our day and of the days to come will continue the building. The great adventure of exploring the unknown is still before us. What will the voters of twenty, fifty, one hundred years from now make of this rich land, of

the great nation that dwells upon it? Though the past of America has been glorious, the hope of the future is for a yet greater, a better, a happier New America.

The paths leading to this greater, better, and happier New America are not altogether clear and open. If they were, there would be no adventure in attempting to follow them. The American of the future must still be an explorer. Perhaps we are only at the beginning of the discovery of the best ways for human beings to live together and to govern themselves. Nobody can suppose that we have already discovered all of them. This is the great adventure of our day, not to discover new worlds, but a new way of living in the world. We must know the history of our country, and from the lives and deeds of the heroes of our nation, we can draw wisdom and encouragement. But history cannot give the whole of America. The past of America belongs to our ancestors, the present and the future belong to us.

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BOOK I
THE NEW WORLD AND THE OLD

I

THE NEW WORLD

AMERICA is called the New World. One might suppose from this name that America was made after the rest of the world. But America is part of the Whole World, and one part of the world is just as old as another.

Nevertheless people do speak of the New World and of the Old World, even though in all its parts the Whole World is equally old. The New World means America, and the Old World means Europe and those parts of Asia and Africa which were known to Europeans before America was discovered. Let us see how these names came to be used in this way.

First of all, What is the Whole World? We know that the world is a planet, like the sun and the moon, and like a great many other planets that move in their places in the sky. When we think of the world, we ought properly to think of it only as our world, for there are many worlds besides our own.

The Earth.

Another name for our world is The Earth. This is a name which we have given to our world to distinguish it from other worlds. The Earth includes not only the solid dry lands of our world, but the seas and the oceans, the rivers and the lakes, and everything that goes to make up our world. When we want to speak of all the worlds together,

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the sun, the moon, the earth and all the other planets, great and small, we call this vast collection of worlds The Universe.

The Human World.

A moment ago the statement was made that our world is a planet like a great many other planets. There is one way, however, in which our planet differs probably from every other planet. So far as we know, the earth is the only planet upon which human beings live.

Just when human beings came into existence on the earth, no one can say. But we know that men and women have not always been present on our planet. There was a time millions of years ago when not any living creature moved on the earth. Very slowly and very gradually, however, plant life and animal life came into being upon the earth. Things began to grow, and that was the beginning of life. We know neither exactly when nor exactly where human beings first appeared on the earth. These early beginnings go back so far that they carry one to a time long before people had the notion of writing about happenings in order that later generations might know about them. The beginnings of human life on the earth are pre-historical.

As men and women lived and grew upon the earth, however, they changed. They learned to do many things which their ancestors could not do. In other words, they developed, and in the course of time certain groups of them here and there became civilized. There have been several great centers or seats of human civilization in the history of the world. One of the oldest was in Egypt. Another was in China. A third was in India and central Asia. After all these came still another civilization which may seem to us

the most important of all because it is the civilization in which we are still living. This was the civilization of Europe.

Europe in Ancient Times.

Europe is that section of the earth which lies between the Arctic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea on its north and south and between the Atlantic Ocean and the mountainous regions of western Asia on its two other boundaries.

Although human beings have lived in Europe for hundreds of thousands of years, the history of Europe as a highly civilized portion of the world is very recent. European civilization is not the oldest in the world. Even as short a time as five thousand years ago, not a single person in Europe knew how to read or write. Neither had many other activities and occupations which seem to us now simple and necessary occurred to anyone. The Europeans of five thousand years ago did not plow the land and sow for harvests of grain that would feed them through the rest of the year. They did not have spinning machines and weaving machines, and of course they knew nothing about the uses of steam or electricity. They clothed themselves with the skins of animals, and most of their food they derived from hunting. Only the more progressive among them may have kept sheep and cattle, wandering about here and there to find pasturage for their flocks and herds. In short, five thousand years ago Europe was a savage or, at best, half-civilized portion of the world.

Greek Civilization.

Civilization in Europe began in the southeastern part of the Continent. This is where the Greeks still live, and the

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Greek civilization was the beginning of all modern civilization in Europe. At a time between two and three thousand years ago, the Greeks had developed so far that they knew how to read and write. They learned also many of the practical arts, those of the farmer, of the carpenter and builder in stone, of the worker in metals, and thus they acquired habits of comfortable and peaceful living.

From Greece, civilization in Europe passed to Rome and Italy, and from Italy it reached to the more distant parts of the Continent of Europe. The Roman armies marched north into Germany, they marched west into ancient Gaul, the country which is now France, and finally they crossed the Channel to the island which is now England. Everywhere they went, they forced the native inhabitants to submit to the Roman government, and if the natives were unwilling to become civilized, the Roman soldiers were always there to compel them to become so. But after a time, it was not necessary to exert much force. The uncivilized Europeans were only too glad to acquire a higher civilization than their own, and in the beginnings of European civilization, one of the proudest titles a man could have was that of being a Roman citizen.

Europe in the Middle Ages.

After some hundreds of years of growth, civilized life in Europe had made great advances. Before the year one thousand, the different countries of Europe had become organized. The Greeks and the Romans had fallen behind, but England, France, Germany and the Scandinavian countries had been rapidly moving forward. Each country organized itself into a government, so that it could defend its people. Instead of being proud that they were Roman citizens, as the people of the several countries made indepen-

dent nations of their own they became proud that they were Englishmen or Frenchmen, Germans or Norwegians.

What they had learned from ancient Greek and Roman civilization, the newer nations cherished and added to in their own countries. They built great cities, and by their industry and ingenuity they made the European world immensely richer than it had ever been before. They became sailors and carried the produce of one part of the known world to other parts, so that each region might profit by what came from the other regions.

After they had learned the art of writing, the Europeans of the different nations began to write books. They wrote poems and histories and many other different kinds of books. They likewise gave up their heathen religions for the more enlightened religion which is taught in the Bible. Many of their books were written to explain the teachings of this new religion. As places of worship, they built beautiful churches and cathedrals. Many of these are still standing and are still the admiration of the world.

About the middle of the fifteenth century, the printing press was invented in Europe. Before this all books had been written by hand and every copy of a book had to be made by slowly writing it out. They were all manuscripts. With the printing press, a great many copies could be made quickly and easily from types. This was a very important invention, for it is only since the time of the printing press that books have been easy to secure, and books have been the necessary means for the spreading of education.

In the Year Fifteen Hundred.

Altogether a person living in Europe about the year fifteen hundred might well be excused for being a little proud

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of what Europe had done since the beginning of European civilization. If this imaginary person were at all a student of history, he could look back to the time when the whole of Europe was still in a state of savagery. He could see how the several nations of Europe had gradually acquired a better manner of life, until in his own day there was no part of Europe where learning and peaceful industry were unknown.

If this European of the year fifteen hundred looked abroad into the world as he then could know it, he would find nothing elsewhere so excellent as what he saw in his own Europe. Egypt may have had at one time a high civilization, but the civilization of Egypt had long since disappeared. India and China were sleeping. Their greatness also lay in the past—or the future. Aside from Egypt and a fringe of land along the Mediterranean, Africa in the year fifteen hundred was completely a dark and unknown continent. Still less known was America, for in fifteen hundred only eight years had passed since the mere existence of America had been made known to the rest of the world.

The European of the year fifteen hundred might well stop and think what a long way civilization in Europe had traveled since its beginnings. Fifteen hundred years in the history of the whole world is not a long time. The whole world is probably millions of years old. But history is not measured merely by years. History is measured by events, by the importance of things that happen. And so far as human life in Europe is concerned, more events of importance had happened in these fifteen hundred years than in the fifteen thousand years before them.

Europe was truly the Old World, old in the sense that here men had traveled far from their crude and savage

beginnings. America was just as truly the New World, not only because it had just become known, but also because it was a continent that had not yet advanced far along the paths of progress. Mankind in the year fifteen hundred was about to take a fresh start in America and to carry on further that civilization which had spread from small beginnings in ancient Greece until at last it had covered the whole of the European continent. The history of America opens a new chapter in the history of European civilization.

II

THE FIRST AMERICANS

WHEN white men set foot on the American continent, they were by no means the first human beings to touch American soil. For many thousands of years the forests and plains of this continent had been the dwelling places of men and women. To them America was not the New World. It was an old, old world, the only world they knew anything about. These men and women were the American Indians.

The Distribution of the Indians.

How long the Indians had been living in America before the coming of the white men, no one knows. But it was a very long time. It was long enough for the Indians to spread over the whole of the New World. Some Indian tribes had wandered or had been driven to the hard frozen North. These were the Eskimo. On the eastern front of North America, along the coast and along the rivers that flow down to the sea from the Appalachian Mountains, many other tribes had established themselves. Across the mountains in the rich valley of the Mississippi, there were still more tribes. There were Indians also on the wide prairies of the West, and there were Indians along the shores of the Pacific Ocean. In what was later to become Mexico lived the Aztecs, one of the most highly developed of all the Indian tribes. Beyond the Isthmus of Panama, in South

America, there were more and more tribes of Indians. In short, one may say that the whole of the North and South American continents, from the Arctic to the Equator and from the Equator to the southern end of habitable land, had been occupied by the Indians before the Indians became known to the white men.

The Indians had been living so long on the American continents that they had separated into a large number of different tribes or nations. The customs of these several tribes varied greatly, and their languages were so different that a member of one tribe could not understand the speech of another tribe. Such far-reaching changes can take place only in the course of a very long period of time. Mere length of time, however, does not make a people civilized, for when the white men first came to America, the Indians were still in the same stage of civilization that the white men of Europe had passed through two or three thousand years earlier.

Origin of the Indians.

Where did the Indians in America come from? The question is easier to ask than to answer. But one might also ask where the white men of Europe came from and find it just as difficult to give an answer. Some people think that the American Indians originally migrated to America from Asia, but if they did, the time of the migration was so remote that we can know nothing about it. More worth while than such guessing is the attempt to describe what sort of people the Indians were at the time when the white men came into contact with them, and the sort of civilization they had developed.

The Indians were a race with brown skin, black straight

hair and usually very dark eyes. From exposure to wind and sun, their skin often took on a bronzed and coppery color. For this reason, and also because they were fond of painting their bodies with red colors, they came to be known as Red Skins.

They lived almost altogether out of doors, and their bodies were strong and well developed. They were of many different types physically, but the best of them were of medium height, quick and light in their motions. Their cheek bones were prominent, their nose large and well shaped, often of the form known as the Roman nose, and their eyes sparkling. When the white men first came into contact with Indians, they found them for the most part kindly and hospitable, their minds active and their manners simple and dignified.

The Number of the Indians.

Though the Indians were spread over the whole of the American continent, in no region was the country thickly settled. At least the country was not thickly settled as the white man thinks of such things. In the year 1920, the population of the United States was over one hundred millions. When America was discovered the total number of Indians north of Mexico was probably about five hundred thousand. There are now at least two hundred times as many human beings living in the United States as there were when the Indians were the sole possessors of the country. And not only is there plenty of space and opportunity for all the millions that now live in the United States, but the country is large enough to take care of the many millions more who will come through the natural increase in population.

This difference in population is to be explained by the difference between European and Indian civilization. When the Indians possessed America the country was as able to support a large population as it is today, and the Indians had lived here long enough to have increased to very large numbers. The reason why they did not was that their manner of living did not permit such an increase.

How the Indians Lived.

The two great defects of the Indian civilization were, first, that the Indians did not plan and provide for the future, and second, that they had never learned to work together.

The Indians led a very hand-to-mouth sort of existence. Only a comparatively few tribes made any effort to cultivate the soil. Some of them did raise corn, pumpkins and tobacco to a certain extent, but never on a scale to satisfy the needs of a large population. They depended for a living on hunting and on natural fruits like berries, nuts and roots. For clothing they used the skins of wild animals. They had no domestic animals except dogs, and no beasts of burden. The horse was unknown to them until horses were brought to America by Europeans.

Now no life is more uncertain than the life of those people who are dependent upon wild fruits and animals for food and other support. Periods of great abundance are likely to be followed by periods of great want. Fisherman's luck and hunter's luck are proverbially fickle. The number of persons who can live in a region where the only available food is that which is found in the streams and forests is strictly limited by the amount of such food. When people raise crops of their own, by harder work they can raise more

if they need more. But the natural fruits of the earth grow or fail to grow after their own sweet will.

Moreover, one's success as a hunter and the amount of game one can secure depends on something else besides the abundance of the game. It depends on the weapons of the hunter. The Indians had no gunpowder and they had no guns. Their most effective weapon was their bow and arrows. They had also spears and lances, tipped with hard bone or sharpened flint. But they knew practically nothing about the melting and molding of metal, and therefore they could not make knives, swords, or other armor. On the island where Columbus first landed, never having seen edged weapons before, the natives grasped by the blade the sword which Columbus carried and cut their hands.

Igloos, Wigwams, Tepees and Pueblos.

The Indian's method of protection against the weather was as simple as his manner of securing food. Different Indian tribes built different kinds of houses, but from the modern point of view, all of these houses were crude affairs. The houses or igloos of the Eskimo were built of blocks of hardened snow, as they still are, and though these houses are well adapted for the climate in which the Eskimo live, a house with only one room in which a tall person can barely stand up, with no windows and with a door and entrance so low that one must creep in on hands and knees, could scarcely be called comfortable. The Indians of the eastern parts of America lived in wigwams made of saplings bent over and bound together, with a covering of bark and brush on the outside. Other Indians built tepees, made by covering a conical framework of poles with bark or hides and skins. Another kind of Indian house or lodge was put to-

gether by building first a framework of poles and logs and then covering this framework with earth.

Among the most elaborate of Indian dwellings were the pueblos and cliff dwellings of the southwestern Indians. These bore more resemblance to houses as we know them. They were built of stones or of sun-dried bricks. After the Spaniards came to America, these bricks were known by the Spanish name adobes, and houses of this kind are often called adobe houses. The Colorado and New Mexico Indians often built their houses high on the side of a cliff, this location being chosen because they were protected there from their enemies. Still more elaborate than the adobe houses and the cliff dwellings were the structures of the Aztecs in Mexico and Central America. These were built of shaped stone and were often richly ornamented with carvings.

Except in Mexico, Central America and in a few parts of South America, however, the houses of the Indians were all made of very flimsy and perishable material. At the best they must have been only endurable, never comfortable, and even with only a few people in them, they must have been overcrowded. They were not large enough for storehouses, and if an Indian happened to have an abundant supply of corn, he had no safe place to keep it. Indian houses were not built to last a long time, and the Indian seems to have felt that his home was wherever he happened to be.

Indian Villages.

Inability to work together, to coöperate, was the second great defect of the Indian civilization. For the most part the Indians lived in villages, but the villages never developed into organized towns or cities. Like the houses of

which they were composed, the villages quickly went to pieces. Since an Indian could put up in one or two days the sort of house he lived in, and since he had to seek his food wherever it could be found, he naturally became a good deal of a wanderer. If he found a good hunting ground, he would not be eager to have too many others share it with him.

The North American Indians undertook no large general plans, either for defense or for supplying themselves with the means of living. They did not attempt to clear away the forests, as indeed they would have found it very difficult to do, since they had no axes. They built no city streets, no bridges and no roads. They had no boats for traveling except small canoes made of bark or dugouts made by hollow-



ing out logs. Apparently they had no notion of doing things which benefited the community as a whole.

No traces survive of any extensive walled cities or forts built by the Indians. At times the early Indians did throw up earth walls or ramparts, the remains of some of which still survive, one of the largest being at Fort Ancient, in southern Ohio. But the walls were never more than eight or ten feet high, and the amount of protection they afforded could not have been great. The Indians also built mounds, the largest being eighty or ninety feet high and three hundred feet in diameter. These mounds were probably built as burial places, and it is sometimes said that there was a special race of people in America, the Mound Builders, who lived here before the Indians came. It is much more probable, however, that the Mound Builders were merely the early ancestors of the Indians. The mounds that they built must have required a great deal of labor, but otherwise they are in no way remarkable.

Tribes and Chiefs.

Neither had the North American Indians learned to organize an effective public government for themselves. They lived usually in small bands or clans of not more than a few hundred persons. In each band there were a number of leaders or chiefs, each chief having perhaps a couple of dozen men in his following. But the chief could exercise no authority except such as the members of his group wanted to grant to him. The chiefs were important mainly in war, and in times of peace they were not distinguished from the other members of the band.

A number of bands living in the same locality and having the same language constituted a tribe. The organization of

the tribe was very loose. The chiefs of the several bands often met together in a council where the affairs of the tribe were discussed. Usually any warrior had the privilege of speaking before the council, and in some tribes this privilege was shared by the women. But the tribe had no controlling ruler, such as a president, governor, or king, and in general each individual reserved to himself the right of accepting or rejecting the decisions of the council as he saw fit. This shows in some respects an admirable independence of spirit. But obviously it is impossible to have anything like a strong government if any member of the community may disregard the government whenever he feels like doing so.

Indian Warfare.

Not only did the Indians fail to work together, but they did still worse. They were continually at warfare one with the other. The Indian warrior regarded hunting and fighting as the only two occupations suited to his dignity. Tribe fought against tribe. The bodies of Indians engaged in any particular fight may not have been great, for the Indians were not organized into large armies, but the various tribes were almost continually on the warpath. Indian warfare must thus have resulted not only in much loss of life but also in a permanent state of disturbance and unrest.

Leadership.

The greatest blessing the early Indians could have known would have been to have had some admired and strong leader to unite all the tribes and to compel them to live in harmony with each other. If that had happened, peaceful civilization might have had a chance to develop. Something like this actually did happen about the year fourteen hundred,

when the Five Nations, who lived in what later became the State of New York, united to form a league. These nations or tribes were the Mohawk, Onondaga, Oneida, Cayuga and Seneca Indians. This was the famous League of the Iroquois. In the year 1715 the Tuscaroras joined the League, making it a League of Six Nations. To this day there is a reservation for the Six Nations in New York, and for several hundred years the League played an important part in Indian affairs. It was a strong league, but it came too late to affect the general fate of the Indians in America.

In general, however, the Indians were strangely lacking in strong leaders. Many of the stories and legends which the Indians have preserved are undoubtedly very old, but rarely do these stories treat of the lives of the great heroes of the race. The Indians did not cherish in memory or celebrate in song the deeds of the great men of their past. This was another sign of their undeveloped condition, for it is one of the marks of a civilized people that it recognizes a leader when a great leader appears and that it strives to keep always fresh the memory of these leaders for the guidance of later generations.

The Religion of the Indians.

In religion the Indians were hampered by a multitude of superstitious beliefs. A common belief among them was that everything in nature was inhabited by a spirit or manitou. After a living creature died, this manitou continued to exist, and this disembodied spirit, of which there were countless numbers wandering about, was able to do good or evil the same as it had done before it was separated from its body. If one wanted to be successful in hunting the deer, therefore, one made prayers and offerings to the deer manitou. If

one were hunting the beaver, one addressed oneself to the beaver manitou. Whatever one wanted to do, there was always some appropriate manitou whose ill will one sought to avert and whose help and favor were to be secured. Even inanimate objects, stones and trees, rivers, fields and mountains, had their manitous. Indeed it would seem that life would be scarcely worth living if one had to consider every time one picked up a stone or broke a branch from a tree whether or not one was offending the manitou of the stone or the tree. These are extreme illustrations, but there can be no doubt that a religion like that of the Indians must have been a great and useless burden to carry. It was natural enough as a stage of development, but it was something to be outgrown before the Indians could be masters of their own civilization.

The Civilization of the Indians.

It is an interesting question to ask, whether the Indians would have developed a high civilization of their own if they had been left undisturbed on the American continent and had never been brought into contact with the white man's civilization from Europe. This question is interesting, but there is no way of answering it. There is no way of telling what might have happened if certain other things had not happened.

But though there is no definite answer to be given to this question, one may at least guess at an answer. The guess would be that if the Indians had remained undisturbed, almost certainly they would have developed a higher type of civilization. How long this development would have taken, no one can say. Progress of this kind must be measured

not in years but in thousands of years. But it is altogether probable that a country like America, with so rich a soil, with such abundance of mineral wealth, with forests, rivers and meadows, with a climate ranging from tropical to frigid, would have become in time the seat of a great creative civilization. The mind of the Indian was as capable of high development as the mind of any other human being. The beginnings of a higher civilization were indeed already present in the achievements of the Aztecs in Mexico, of the Incas in Peru, and of the League of Five Nations in New York. A few strong men and strong seats of civilization like these might have exerted a great influence on the rest of the country. The necessary requirements for growth in civilization are peace and leadership, and given these, the Indians might have become on their own soil a great civilized nation.

It is not very profitable, however, to reflect on what the Indians might have become. The fact is that before they had a chance to develop into a great nation, they came into conflict with a civilization stronger and more highly developed than their own. The result was disastrous for the Indians. The civilization they had begun was destroyed in its first beginnings, and no one can ever know what the full flower of this civilization might have been.

III

VOYAGES OF EXPLORATION

THE New World was discovered by accident. Like most lucky accidents, however, there was something more than mere luck in the finding of the New World. Christopher Columbus did not plan to discover America, but he did plan a voyage of exploration which put him in the way of discovering what there was to be discovered. There were many other explorers in his day, and this chapter will tell what they were looking for in their ventures into untraveled seas.

Seeking the Unknown.

The fascination of things unknown was undoubtedly one of the spurs to exploration in the days of Columbus. It still is a spur, even today, when so little of the world remains unknown. The discovery of the North Pole by Commodore Peary in 1909 was one of the notable events of our time, and so also was the discovery of the South Pole, two years later, by Captain Amundsen. Any traveler who can put on the map some hitherto unknown river or lake or mountain, or even merely a point, like the North or the South Pole, has done something important. There is not only a fascination in being the first person to enter a new country or new part of a country, but there is also fame for him who brings back news thereof to be added to mankind's general knowledge of the world.

The unknown is, moreover, doubly alluring if the ap-

proach to it is dangerous. The perils of an adventure add to its excitement. To an explorer of the days of Columbus the dangers of voyaging into strange seas were many, some of them real dangers, some of them imaginary.

Perils of the Sea.

One of the real dangers was that the ships of that time were not adapted to make long voyages in the open ocean. They were small, but as they were too large to be propelled by oars, they were entirely dependent on the wind and the tides for their motive power. When Columbus made his first voyage across the Atlantic, he had three ships in his fleet. The largest was his flagship, the *Santa Maria*, but this ship was only about sixty feet long in its longest part, about twenty feet wide, and about ten feet deep. It was completely decked over, but in this respect it differed from the two smaller ships of the fleet, which had covered decks only at the two ends. The middle parts of these two other ships, the *Pinta* and the *Niña*, were open to the rain and to the spray which dashed over the sides in stormy weather. To make a voyage across the Atlantic now in ships like these would be considered a marvelous performance. Marvelous it was also in the days of Columbus, and it is a wonder that any of these ships survived the voyage.

Into these small ships all the sailors, all their provisions and all the goods they intended to use in the land to which they were going, had to be crowded. On each of the ships of Columbus there were probably about thirty men. Whenever the weather was bad, they were wet and cold. The waves drenched everything on board, even the bread on which the explorers mainly lived. The passion for discovery must have been strong to induce any man

of his own accord to undergo such dangers and discomforts.

The ships were not only dangerous and uncomfortable but they were also slow. Under favorable circumstances, four miles an hour was about as fast as they could go. On his first trip across the Atlantic, Columbus began the voyage on August 3, 1492, and he reached land on October 12, 1492, a period altogether of seventy days. On the return journey he made better time, starting on January 10 and reaching Spain on February 26. This was a journey of forty-seven days. Nowadays ocean steamers cross the Atlantic in five days, and ten days is thought to be very slow. In the small ships of Columbus, it was not practicable to carry water and food enough for such long voyages, and the possibility of starvation was another of the dangers that a fifteenth-century mariner had to face.

Imaginary Dangers.

These were some of the real dangers. The imaginary dangers were no less numerous and even more terrifying. The sailors of the fifteenth century had been accustomed only to voyages in which they kept in sight of land. The Mediterranean sailors coasted along the shores of that great landlocked ocean, and some of the bolder among them ventured along the Atlantic shores of Spain and northern Africa. There were other sailors in northern Europe who coasted along the shores of the North Sea and the Baltic. The great ships of our day try to keep away from land as much as possible, but in the fifteenth century, sailors hugged the shore for safety. They were afraid of the great wide open ocean because they did not know what was in it or whither a voyage upon it would lead them. How did they know, if they should be driven South toward the warm

country, that they might not find themselves in a region of burning fire in which no human being could live? Or, if they were driven in the other direction by wind and tide, that they might not be frozen to death by a sudden breath from the icy North?

How did they know, moreover, that there were no huge monsters in the vast ocean, monsters as large in proportion as the ocean itself, which might rise up from the deep and swallow them, ship and all? That these things existed no one could deny, because no one had proved by trial that they did not exist. Many persons had sailed or been driven into the great ocean to disappear there, but few had ever returned with any report of their experiences. Strange tales were told of the ocean, of floating islands, of fierce dragons, of devastating tempests, and it was easier to believe that these tales were true than that they were idle stories. Especially when one thought of sailing into the midst of them, one thought them to be true.

Is the Earth Round?

The spirit of exploration is somewhat like the scientific spirit. The desire of it is to find out something not before known, to prove something as true which may have been guessed or suspected, but which was not before a matter of certain knowledge.

The truth which the explorers of the fifteenth century wanted to prove was that the earth is round. When they thought about it at all, most people of the age of Columbus believed that the earth was flat. They supposed that if one traveled to the end of the world, one would, or at least one could, fall over the edge.

This was the popular view. Scholars had been thinking,

however, in quite a different way about the shape of the earth. The notion that the earth was a sphere was not new in the time of Columbus. As far back as the days of the early Greeks there had been occasional students and philosophers who had maintained that the earth was not a flat disk, but a sphere.

It was one thing, however, to maintain that the earth was round and it was another thing to prove it. One obvious way to prove it would be to start out at a certain point and to keep on going straight ahead until one came back to the same point. No experimenter had ever done this, however, though the possibility of proving the sphericity of the earth by circumnavigating it was always present in the minds of the bold explorers of the fifteenth century.

Christians and Mohammedans.

Besides the scientific desire to prove a truth, there was also often present in the minds of the early explorers a religious desire to spread the knowledge of what they considered to be a very important truth. This was the truth of the Christian religion.

In Europe a great contest had been going on for several centuries between the followers of two different religions, the Christians and the Mohammedans. The Mohammedans were pressing into Europe, and for a while it seemed as though they might conquer the Christians. The Arabian Mohammedans, known as the Moors, had conquered a large part of Spain, and even France had been in danger from them. Finally, however, in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, and just a year or two before Columbus set forth on the voyage which resulted in the discovery of America, the Moors were driven out of

Spain. They fled into Africa, into Morocco, Algiers and other regions, where their descendants still live.

In the eastern part of Europe, the Turkish Mohammedans continued to be more successful. In the year 1453 they captured the great Christian city of Constantinople, and they still held possession of it after the Moors had been driven out of Spain. To this day, Constantinople is a Turkish city.

The European Christians had little hope of converting the Turkish and Moorish Mohammedans to Christianity, and they therefore turned all the more eagerly to the heathen inhabitants of the rest of the world for the exercise of their missionary zeal. Wherever the first explorers went they always planted in any newly discovered country the cross of the Christian religion beside the flag of their country.

The Riches of the Orient.

There was still another motive stronger than any one of the others that have been mentioned, which sent the voyagers of the fifteenth century on the paths of adventure and discovery. This was the desire of riches to be acquired through commerce and trade. The European countries could of course trade with each other. They had been doing this for centuries. German merchants from Hamburg and Bremen had sent their goods to all the ports along the northern coasts, and the Italian merchants of Venice and Genoa, the Spanish merchants and the Portuguese merchants, all these had been doing the same in other parts of Europe.

What the merchants now wanted was a new field to develop. They knew where a land rich in possibilities lay, but their difficulty was that they could not reach it. This

land was Asia, but a safe route to Asia was shut off because their enemies, the Mohammedans, held all the old and familiar ways of approach by land to that region of fabulous riches.

Asia stirred the imagination of the adventurer merchants of the fifteenth century as a continent of unparalleled wealth and wonder. Asia was the country of the elephant, the tiger and the leopard. From Asia came ivory, from Asia came gold and precious metals. From Asia came diamonds, rubies and emeralds. Rich carpets of beautiful colors, luxurious silks and satins came from Asia. Sugar and delicious fruits, rare or unknown in Europe, oranges, lemons, plums, peaches, almonds, dates, all these came from Asia. From Asia came also fine spices, cinnamon, pepper, nutmeg, cloves, ginger, such as the European could get nowhere else.

Moreover, Asia was like a ripe plum ready to drop into the European mouth. With all their wealth, it was believed the people of Asia were an enfeebled race. They had built great cities with beautiful marble palaces. In India, in Cathay or China, in Japan, they had amassed riches and their treasure houses were crammed to overflowing with gold and with jewels. Their cities were filled with workmen who fashioned all sorts of strange and luxurious articles.

But with all their riches and with all their fine industries, the European thought, and thought rightly, that the natives of India, China and Japan would be no match for him, when it came to matters of barter and trade. The people of Asia belonged to a descending civilization, the Europeans belonged to an ascending civilization. The European had gunpowder, which the Asiatics did not have, he had ships, and above all, he had a consuming thirst for gold and for the luxury of living which follows the possession of gold.

THE MEDIEVAL TRADE ROUTES



COMMERCE STARTS EXPLORATION



Trade Routes to Asia.

With the prospect of entering the rich treasure house of the East before their eyes, no wonder the European explorers were eager to discover a route by which these treasures could be brought back safely home. The route over land being closed by the Turkish conquest of Constantinople and by the enmity of the Mohammedans, the only other possible routes were by sea.

One way to Asia by sea, as anyone can tell now by looking at the map, would be to sail down the Atlantic along the coast of Africa, around the Cape of Good Hope and then north into the Indian Ocean to India. But this is a long distance and a tedious voyage, and it was only after many vain attempts that at last the whole journey was made. The successful discoverer of the route to Asia by way of the southern end of Africa was Vasco Da Gama. He set sail from Lisbon in Portugal on July 8, 1497, and reached India on May 20, 1498, a voyage altogether of three hundred and sixteen days. In August, 1499, Da Gama arrived at Lisbon on his return journey, and he was at once welcomed as a hero. He deserved all the honors he received, for his was a great achievement. He was the first man to show how to reach India and China without passing through the land of the Turk.

There was, however, another possible route to Asia. For if the world was a sphere, as many people supposed it to be, then by sailing westward from Europe one must reach the East. No one had any notion that any land lay between Europe and Asia. The only continents of the world then known were Europe, Asia and Africa. All the rest of the world was supposed to be ocean.

This was the theory. Not a few people believed it was a

true theory. The trouble was that no one had tested the theory by putting it into practice. It took courage to sail away from the coast of Europe into a vast unknown ocean. It was like sailing into the dark. One might find Asia, but on the other hand there was no telling what terrible regions one might have to pass through. It took courage and faith to undertake such a voyage. The man who had this courage and faith was Christopher Columbus, and though it is true that Columbus never reached Asia, he reached another land that has proved to be richer than the region he was seeking. He discovered the New World.

IV

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS was an Italian by birth. In the Italian language his name is Cristoforo Colombo. The later years of his life Columbus passed in Spain, and the name by which he chose to be known in Spanish was Cristoval Colon. The name Columbus is a Latin form of Colombo, and Christopher is of course the English form of Italian Cristoforo. The name Christopher Columbus is therefore a mixture of English and Latin, but it is this name by which the discoverer of America is now always known among English people.

Early Years.

Columbus was born in the Italian city Genoa. The year of his birth is not known with certainty, but probably it was 1446. The parents of Columbus were not rich, but on the other hand they were not abjectly poor. By occupation the father of Columbus was a wool-comber, one who combs the impurities out of wool preparatory to spinning and weaving. At this time Genoa was a busy and prosperous city. It was a seaport, and the ships that left its wharves carried on a profitable commerce with other Mediterranean cities. He must have been a very lazy man who found it hard to make a living in Genoa at this time.

We know very little about the early education of Columbus, though we can be sure that stories of adventure from the

lips of Genoese sailors formed no inconsiderable part of it. But Columbus was not an uneducated man, and he must have been at some time or other a student. He knew how to read and write not only Italian, but also Latin. To become a successful navigator, one must know mathematics and the science of navigation. Columbus applied himself diligently to these subjects also, and he mastered them. Moreover, when he became interested in the notion that the earth is round, he studied thoroughly all the opinions, ancient and modern, that had been expressed on this important question, so that one may say that he became in certain respects a learned man.

Columbus in Portugal.

Columbus first comes into clear view as a man of promise and some importance when we find him in Portugal in 1473. He was then probably twenty-seven years old, and he already had firmly fixed in his mind the resolve to reach Asia by sailing westward over the Atlantic.

Portugal was a country to which an adventurous spirit would naturally turn at that time for help in carrying out such plans as Columbus had in mind. Portuguese sailors were then the leaders in exploration. Their patron was a Portuguese prince known to later fame as Prince Henry the Navigator. Prince Henry had died before Columbus came to Portugal, but the explorations which Henry had begun were continued by others.

In Portugal Columbus made vigorous efforts to interest powerful persons in his project. This was difficult, not only because many people thought it absurd to try to reach Asia by sailing westward over the Atlantic, but also because the Portuguese had already committed themselves to other

plans. They were attempting to sail around the southern end of Africa as a practicable way of communication with the East.

Columbus, however, was an enthusiast. He presented his case unceasingly and urgently. Many persons were won over to his opinions, and Columbus began to have hopes that ships and supplies would be furnished to him. At this point, however, the Portuguese played a trick on him. Without letting him know, they fitted out a ship and sent it on an exploring expedition of just the kind that Columbus was urging them to make. They did this because they thought if they found the route to Asia before Columbus and without the aid of Columbus, then they could claim all the profit and glory of the discovery for themselves. Their ship sailed into the ocean, but it had not been gone many days before it came sailing back. It had not discovered Asia or anything else, except severe storms that had disheartened the explorers, and had made them more than willing to think it impossible to find Asia in that direction. They heaped all manner of ridicule upon Columbus and his project, although in fact they had not given the project the shadow of a fair trial.

He Seeks His Fortune in Spain.

Discouraged by this trick, Columbus determined to try his fortunes elsewhere. It was the year 1484 when Columbus left Portugal, and we next hear of him in Spain. According to the story, he came to the gate of a convent near the Spanish town Palos, accompanied only by his little son. He was without money and without food, and he had sought this convent to ask for bread and water for the boy. It happened that the prior of the convent fell into conversa-

tion with Columbus, and soon they were discussing the great plans for exploration that Columbus cherished. The prior was interested in such matters, and through him Columbus made one or two friends who later helped Columbus to enter the service of the Spanish government.

Columbus now again had an opportunity to interest powerful persons in his proposals. But his task was no easier than it had been in Portugal. Spain at this time was just finishing its great war for the purpose of driving the Moors out of the country. The war was ending successfully, but it had left Spain with little money to spend on such doubtful experiments as the voyage proposed by Columbus.

The needs of Spain, however, Columbus turned into one of his arguments. He tried to arouse the interest of Ferdinand and Isabella, the King and the Queen, by telling them how Spain could become rich again by the discovery and annexation of new lands and through commerce with Asia by way of the new route which he expected to find. He dwelt also on the great glory it would be to Spain if that country should send out the expedition that should prove the roundness of the earth by sailing west to reach the east. He also had much to say about the thousands of heathen who could be brought to a state of Christian enlightenment by Spanish missionaries. Columbus declared that his purpose was not only to find gold, but also to save souls by bringing them into the Roman Catholic Church.

Isabella, Queen of Spain.

The confidence which Columbus himself had in his plans spread to others. Isabella, for one, was inclined to support them, but Ferdinand was not enthusiastic. Columbus had

other powerful friends besides Isabella, however, and at times he felt that he was very near to having his wishes gratified. He saw himself provided with ships and sailors to make his great experiment. Then something always turned up to destroy his hopes and expectations. This happened again and again. He became convinced at last that nothing would be done for him in Spain. In despair he finally set out on his mule, determined to leave Spain and to go to France in search of someone there who would help him to find the way to the gold and silver, the rich spices and jewels of the Orient, and the unsaved souls of the heathen.

Some of the friends of Columbus, as much disappointed as he was, then went to Isabella and made a final plea. In this they were successful, and a messenger was sent at once to ask Columbus to return from his intended journey to France. Now at last Columbus might have reasonable confidence that something would be done for him. The Queen promised to provide him with ships, and she even offered, though this turned out not to be necessary, to pledge her jewels for the money to fit out the expedition. It was agreed that Columbus should have the title and office of Admiral, that he should be governor of all the lands he should discover, and that he should have one-tenth of all the gold, silver, pearls, precious stones, spices and other articles which might be acquired in the regions under his rule.

The work of securing his ships was begun at once, and in time three ships were ready. These were the *Niña* and the *Pinta* and a third larger ship, the *Santa Maria*. But it was easier to get the ships than it was to get the crews to go with the ships. Sailors were unwilling to venture into an unknown sea full of terrors and dangers. At last even this

difficulty was overcome, and the ships were ready to sail. On the morning of August 3, 1492, a half hour before sunrise, the little fleet set out from the harbor of Palos in Spain, not far from the very convent where Columbus a few years before had begged for bread.

Columbus Sails West to Reach the East.

The ships sailed west into the mysterious ocean and by the end of the month they had reached the Canary Islands. Columbus stopped here for a few days, and on September 6 he again led his ships westward into wide regions that ended no one knew where. The Canary Islands were familiar to navigators of that time, but beyond the Canaries the uncharted ocean lay dark and forbidding.

Day after day passed, and still the three brave ships pushed slowly westward. Toward the middle of September, Columbus began to think he saw signs of land. Certain birds appeared which he declared were land birds that never flew far from the shore. The sea for several days was filled with grasses and weeds, and among the weeds the sailors caught a crab. These also were considered to be signs of land. At one time it was believed that land had certainly been sighted. There was great excitement and jubilation on the three ships, but sailing forward, the explorers soon saw that the supposed land was only a bank of clouds.

The sailors on the ships at last began to grow dissatisfied. They feared that they had sailed so far that they would never be able to sail back again. They had little hope of ever reaching that wonderful island off the coast of Asia which Columbus called Cipango and which we call Japan. The sailors were so discouraged that there was even danger

that they would rise up in mutiny and compel Columbus to give up the voyage.

At this critical moment, however, the crews took new courage from what seemed to be still more certain signs of the nearness of land. They observed floating logs and pieces of wood in the water, and one of these floating pieces of wood seemed to have been carved by hand. They saw also bits of cane, a green rush, a stalk of rose berries, and other drift which told them that the land on which such things grew could not be far away.

A Night and a Day.

On the night of October 11, 1492, at about ten o'clock, peering into the darkness before him, Columbus saw something moving in the distance. He saw a light moving. A light moving! Where in this wide waste could such a thing be except on land?

Four hours later, about two o'clock in the morning, in the glow of the moon that had then risen, a sailor on the *Pinta* clearly saw the land. The name of this sailor was Rodrigo De Triana, and he was the first European, so far as we certainly know, to glimpse any part of the American continent.

When the light of morning came, it was seen that the land was a small island, and some naked natives were observed on its shores. Columbus at once prepared to go ashore. He dressed himself richly in a crimson robe over his armor, and with some of his followers accompanying him, he planted the banner of the King of Spain and the banner of the Cross on the new-found land. The day was October 12, 1492, when the voyage of Columbus came to this successful end.

Where Columbus Landed.

The voyage was successful in the sense that Columbus had sailed across the western ocean, but though Columbus supposed that his island lay off the coast of Asia, in fact it was one of the small islands now known as the Bahamas.

For ninety days Columbus sailed about among the islands he had discovered. Before he started on his voyage, Columbus had decided to give the land he expected to find the name India, this being, as he believed, the richest part of Asia. So it is that these islands have come to be known as the West Indies, and the inhabitants of the new country as Indians. When he reached the large island of Cuba, Columbus did not discover that it was an island, but he supposed that here he had at last reached the coast of China.

Everywhere he went, Columbus found numerous natives, but he was deeply disappointed not to find the great riches he was looking for. He saw no ancient cities with marble palaces and bridges, no great treasures of pearls, rubies and diamonds. The natives had only small quantities of gold, though by signs they indicated to Columbus that westward lay a larger land where gold was more abundant. But on this first voyage Columbus never got nearer to the mainland than Cuba, and on January 10, 1493, he set sail again for Spain, carrying with him some of the natives, some of the parrots that were found on the islands, as much gold as he could obtain, taking this as promise of the greater quantities he hoped to secure in the future, and samples of the fruits and other vegetation of the islands. His own ship, the *Santa Maria*, having been disabled in a storm, it was left behind and Columbus sailed on the *Niña*. Some of the sailors remained on one of the islands to establish a colony in the

new land, and Columbus promised to return to them soon with supplies and additions to their numbers.

To Spain Again.

After a perilous voyage of forty-seven days, Columbus at last reached Spain on the *Niña* on February 26, 1493. The news of his return and his great discovery spread like wild-fire. Columbus was given a triumphant welcome. His story was heard with intense eagerness, and the natives he had brought back with him and the strange fruits of the new land were viewed with wonder.

Columbus now found no difficulty in securing support for a second expedition. On the first voyage, it was necessary to compel his sailors to go with him. Now everybody was begging to be allowed to go. On the first voyage, the total number of people on the three ships was about ninety. On the second voyage, the number of adventurers was about fifteen hundred, and the ships numbered seventeen. All manner of equipment for colonization was taken along, including horses, cows, sheep, goats, swine, seeds, plants, and various kinds of implements.

Altogether Columbus made four voyages across the Atlantic. The story of these later voyages is not in all respects pleasant. The Spaniards at once began to establish colonies, of which, according to the agreement with Ferdinand and Isabella, Columbus was to be governor. But dissensions and quarrels soon arose. Columbus seems not to have been well fitted for the tasks of government. Moreover, Columbus allowed himself to be led too far in his quest for riches. The gold that he was seeking did not come easily and abundantly, and Columbus resorted to hard measures

to squeeze it out of the native Indians. He permitted and even encouraged the selling of the natives as slaves. The European civilization which might have been a blessing to the natives, proved for them to be a curse. The happy islands which Columbus had discovered were no longer happy for them. The natives lost their lands and they lost their liberty. In only a few years after the Spaniards had taken possession of the islands, the Indians had disappeared. It was the beginning of the end of their day in America.

The last years of the life of Columbus were not peaceful. Many other voyagers now visited the new lands, and the honors and privileges of Columbus were not always respected. He tried by lawsuits to secure his rights, but the governorship of the newly discovered lands brought him neither great honors, riches nor happiness. Worn with the hardships and worries of his troubled life, Columbus died on May 20, 1506.

What Columbus Accomplished.

To his last moment Columbus believed that the country he had discovered was a part of Asia, and that Cuba was Cathay, or China. On one of his voyages Columbus had indeed touched the coast of South America, but never in all his explorations did he reach the mainland of North America. His notions of the geography of the country he had discovered remained imperfect, and in fact after the first voyage his interest seems to have been directed more to the search for gold than to the increasing of his knowledge. To the very end he continued to believe in the existence of a channel among the islands he had discovered which should lead him to India. No such channel existed, though in our day one has been made by cutting the Panama Canal

through the isthmus uniting North and South America. But even if Columbus had crossed the Isthmus of Panama, he would have been astounded and appalled if he could have known that there still lay the thousands of miles of the Pacific Ocean between him and the riches of India.

The greatness of Columbus is not to be measured by the imperfections of his knowledge or by those weaknesses of character that showed themselves most clearly in his later years. Columbus is remembered not for what he failed to accomplish, but for what he did accomplish. He is a great man because he kept a great purpose clearly before him for a long period of time. In spite of ridicule, of indifference and opposition, he clung to his one great idea. He endured hardship, he scorned danger, he sacrificed everything to prove the truth of what he considered to be true. His voyages indeed did not prove that the world is round, nor did they prove that by sailing west from Europe, one can sail to Asia. They did not prove these things directly, but they prepared the way for others who were to prove them. In the conquest of the unknown the first step is always the most important. Others can follow after the way has been shown. The greatness of Columbus consists in his having pointed out the path which later explorers were to follow into regions that Columbus himself never reached.

Norsemen in America.

The importance in history of the explorations of Columbus lies in the fact that they mark definitely the beginnings of European civilization in the New World. It is possible that Columbus and the companions of his first voyage were not absolutely the first Europeans to land on the American continent. Other Europeans at some time may have been

driven across the Atlantic Ocean by accident and they may have reached the American shore. Several stories of this kind have passed into tradition. It is narrated, for example, in certain Norse sagas, that a Norwegian sailor, named Leif, found Vinland the Good. Vinland is supposed to mean a part of the coast of America, and other Norsemen, as told in the story of Eric the Red, are also said to have made this journey. The date of the supposed voyage of Leif is given as about the year one thousand. It must be said, however, that the evidence proving this voyage of Leif or other Norse voyagers before Columbus is not altogether convincing.

But granting that such voyages were made, the important fact remains that Norse voyagers have left not a single recognizable trace upon the American continent. No one knows where Vinland the Good may have been. The Norse voyages, if they were made, resulted in nothing. On the other hand, the voyages of Columbus are not only fully described in records, but they were immediately followed by other voyages and by colonizers who settled down and made for themselves permanent homes in the New World. It is with the voyages of Columbus that the civilized history of the New World begins.

The New World is Called America.

The name of this new country has not been derived from the name of Columbus. So far as Columbus is concerned, he of course did not think it was a new country he had discovered. He thought he had merely found a new route to an old country, to Asia, which therefore needed no new name, and he died without changing this opinion.

Other explorers, however, soon began to doubt that the newly discovered land was Asia or any part of Asia. One

of these was Americus Vesputius, who was known to Columbus and who made various voyages of discovery during the life of Columbus and later. As the result of his voyages, Vesputius became aware of the character of the South American mainland. Columbus himself had been upon the mainland of South America before Vesputius, but Columbus never realized that it was the mainland of a great continent. He always believed that he was among islands and that by sailing further west he would find a channel that led directly to the continent of Asia and to India.

Vesputius did not know that the American coast line extends unbroken from the Arctic almost to the Antarctic, but he was convinced that neither the newly discovered islands where Columbus first landed nor the mainland of South America was Asia. He believed it was a vast region hitherto not known, and he gave it the Latin name *Novus Mundus*, the New World. Certain students of geography afterwards suggested that the New World be called after Vesputius, and from his first name, Americus, the name America was formed. It immediately passed into general use and has remained the common name for the New World ever since the middle of the sixteenth century. It has become also the customary familiar name for one portion of the New World, that is, the United States of America. Ordinarily when one refers to the continental divisions of the New World, one refers to them as North America and South America, but in common usage the word America by itself means the United States of America, and the citizens of the United States are known as Americans. As a poetical name, however, the United States is known as Columbia, and in this name at least the memory of Columbus is honored.

BOOK II

CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT

V

SPAIN IN AMERICA

THE discovery of America was like opening the door of a crowded room. As soon as the door was opened, the nations of Europe began to pour out. They were eager for fresh adventure, for new worlds to conquer, for greater wealth to be won. The newly discovered land promised to satisfy all these desires.

The Four Colonizing Nations.

Four of the nations of Europe were specially active in making settlements in America. These four were Spain, France, the Netherlands and England. One might expect that Portugal, a country very active in early exploration, would also have taken a large share in the settlement of the New World. But Portugal's interests in colonization followed the line of the early Portuguese explorations along the coasts of Africa. In the New World, the only important settlement made by Portugal was in Brazil.

The Spaniards, however, began the task of occupying the New World at once, and three main centers of Spanish power gradually established themselves in America. The earliest of these was in the islands which Columbus first discovered, the second was in Mexico, and the third was in South America.

Spain in the West Indies.

The first Spanish settlement among the West Indian islands was on Hayti, which was then called Española in Spanish or Hispaniola in Latin. Later Porto Rico was occupied, and then Cuba, the largest and richest of all the islands. Flourishing towns and farms soon appeared in these Spanish provinces. The country was ruled by a governor sent from Spain, and much of the wealth of the islands flowed back into the treasuries of Spain.

The native Indian population of the islands was first reduced to slavery, and by hard usage was in a short time completely destroyed. All Indian prisoners taken by the Spaniards were enslaved and set to work for their conquerors. Not being accustomed to this life of hard labor, the Indians were quickly released from their bondage by death. In order to keep up the supply of slaves, the Spanish made raids among the islands, bringing back their captives to take the places of those other captives whom they had already worked to death. The Indians died so fast, however, that it soon became necessary to find a new supply of slave labor. Barely ten years had passed since the discovery of America, when the Spaniards brought in African slaves to labor for them on their island possessions.

This, then, was the character of the Spanish civilization in the West Indies. It was the civilization of a group of conquerors who came to the islands primarily to acquire riches. In their quest for riches, they developed a manner of living in which they as lords and masters enjoyed the fruits of the labor of slaves whom they compelled to toil for them. The question of the rights of the natives was not considered. The duty of civilizing and teaching them was entrusted to priests of the Roman Catholic Church, who often



labored faithfully, but who could accomplish little in their battle against greed and cruelty.

The Spanish colonies in the West Indies did not govern themselves but were governed by laws and decrees made in Spain. These laws and decrees were so devised as to bring advantage and profit to Spain but heavy burdens of taxation upon the colonists. Violent differences of opinion naturally arose which often resulted in insurrections and revolutions in the colonies. Nevertheless Spain continued to hold governmental control of her island possessions in America for four hundred years. A final crisis came when, after many years of Spanish misrule and corruption, the United States intervened to secure peace on the Spanish islands. The Spanish-American War resulted in 1898, and at the end of this war Spain had lost all her last possessions in America. Cuba became an independent republic, Porto Rico was annexed to the United States, and all the other possessions of Spain in the West Indies passed finally from her control. This was the end of Spanish rule in the island discoveries of Columbus.

Spain in Mexico.

The second large Spanish settlement in America was in Mexico. As soon as the Spaniards had made their first habitations on Hispaniola, they began to send out from this place exploring expeditions to find richer regions elsewhere to conquer. Columbus and his early successors were not satisfied with what they found on the islands. They were looking for larger stores of gold and silver than the natives were able to gather for them. They were looking also for great cities whose wealth they could carry off in their ships. The natives of the islands were a great disappointment be-

cause they could be turned into gold only by the comparatively slow process of working them to death as slaves. What the conquerors were seeking was gold and other treasure ready to their hand.

One of these early seekers after gold was Balboa, who crossed the Isthmus of Panama in 1513 and who was thus the first of white men to stare at the vast Pacific. In this same year, Ponce De Leon, the governor of Porto Rico, made a voyage to a strange land known to the natives as Bimini, where he expected to find not only gold in great abundance, but also a fountain of youth which would enable the person who drank of its waters to enjoy this gold forever. Ponce De Leon found neither the gold nor the fountain, but the name Florida which he gave to this land of disappointed hope still remains.

The most promising region for conquest, however, seemed to lie between the Isthmus of Panama and Florida. Certain Spaniards who had visited this coast on a slave-catching expedition brought back reports of much treasure to be won, of populous and rich cities inland that seemed at last to realize the old dreams of India and Cathay. To explore this region, Hernando Cortez was sent in 1519, and the story of his expedition is the story of the conquest of Mexico

The Aztecs.

The Indians of Mexico whom Cortez proposed to conquer to the glory and profit of Spain were the Aztecs. They were the most highly civilized Indians then living on the North American continent. They were skilled in many of the arts, such as weaving, building with stone, working in gold, silver and copper, though they had no iron, and in the practices of agriculture. But they had no cows or horses and no

beasts of burden of any kind. When the Aztecs first saw Cortez and some of his men on horseback, they thought the man and the horse were one creature.

The Aztecs had learned to live and to work together in large groups. Their cities were populous and well organized, and according to some of the early reports, they were richly ornamented and beautiful. The capital city was Mexico. It was situated in the high central valley where the City of Mexico now stands, and it was built on two islands in the lake Tezcuco. The number of inhabitants of this city has been estimated at about three hundred thousand. The two islands were separated only by a narrow channel, so that they were practically one. But the whole of the island city was separated from the mainland by a considerable expanse of water, and three great roads were built connecting the shores of the islands with the shore of the mainland. These roads were built of earth and stone, and one was seven, one was three, and the other was two miles long. They were provided with drawbridges over the canals that passed through them. These roads were so well built and so well adapted for the defense of the city that the Spaniards were filled with wonder and admiration when they first saw them. They were wide enough to permit ten horsemen to ride abreast on them.

The city itself was described by the Spaniards as solidly and well built. In the center stood the palace and gardens of the Emperor and the temples of religious worship. The temples were built on high stone platforms, somewhat like the pyramids, or indeed, not unlike in shape to certain ancient Indian earth mounds still to be seen in Illinois and Georgia. The streets of the city were kept clean, they were lighted at night by fires, and they were protected by police

who patrolled them. The sanitary arrangements were good, and it has been declared that the city was probably more spacious, cleaner and healthier than any European town of that time.

With all these evidences of riches and cultivation, however, there go certain things to show that the Aztecs were still in a comparatively low stage of civilization. They had no coins for use as money, but they carried on their extensive business by barter and exchange. They had a kind of system of picture writing, but they had no alphabet. They had no beasts of burden, but all carrying had to be done on the backs of men and women. In religion they worshiped a great variety of gods, and one part of their religious services was the sacrifice of human beings and the eating of the flesh of these sacrificial victims. Wizards and prophets and magicians also played a large part in their superstitious beliefs.

The ruler or Emperor of Mexico at the time when Cortez appeared on the scene was Montezuma. The Emperor lived in his palace in great luxury and also in great seclusion. The life of the court was highly formal, for the Emperor was both a ruler and a sacred priest. He had at his command an almost unlimited supply of soldiers who were well trained and well officered.

Through his military organization, Montezuma maintained control over a large population and over a large extent of country. The government was not without its enemies, however, even before the arrival of Cortez, and an elaborate military organization was necessary to keep the empire in safety. The people were dissatisfied with the heavy taxes which the government of Montezuma laid upon them, and they were also weary of the horrors of the re-

ligious custom of human sacrifices. Thousands of victims were sacrificed at one time and the necessity of keeping up the supply made every person feel that he was in danger. When the Spaniards visited them, the Mexican temples looked and smelled more like slaughterhouses than places of religious worship.

Cortez and His Men.

The forces which Cortez brought with him seemed utterly inadequate for the conquest of so rich, powerful and populous a kingdom as that of Montezuma. He started on his expedition with eleven vessels, and at the most not more than six hundred soldiers. He had ten cannon and four smaller pieces. He had sixteen horses, and these were perhaps the most valuable part of his little army. The Aztecs had never seen horses before, and the sight of the horses with men riding on them filled the natives with wonder and terror.

After he had reached the coast, Cortez made alliances with several Indian chiefs who were hostile to Montezuma. One of these chiefs was Olintetl, called The Trembler by the Spaniards because he was so fat that when he walked he shook like jelly. The Indians flocked to Cortez by thousands, and if it had not been for the help of these native enemies of Montezuma, Cortez could never have conquered the Mexicans.

The Conquest of Mexico.

It was on August 16, 1519, that Cortez set out from Vera Cruz on the coast, where he had made his camp, on the march to the City of Mexico. Before leaving Vera Cruz he destroyed all his ships, thus effectually removing all

thoughts of return from the minds of his men. Then began the climb from the low land of the coast up the sides of the high mountains beyond which lay Montezuma's city. It was the plan of Cortez to accomplish as much with cunning and fair words as he could before resorting to violence. He therefore treated the natives well wherever he went and paid them for any food or other supplies he took. He also sent messages to Montezuma, saying that he came peacefully to bear greetings from the great and powerful King of Spain. To these messages Montezuma answered hesitatingly. The truth was he did not know what to do. He did not know what to think of the white strangers, whether they were gods or evil magicians. He therefore sent them presents and at the same time forbade them to approach his city.

Cortez took the presents but paid no attention to Montezuma's commands. He continued to advance toward the forbidden city. For the most part the people of the towns through which he passed were friendly to him or pretended to be so, but on several occasions there was an open conflict of arms between the army of Cortez and the natives. In these battles Cortez was easily victorious, and he punished the hostile natives so severely that they everywhere lost heart for further opposition.

News of these battles was brought to Montezuma, who now felt more than ever that resistance was useless. The Mexicans had long had a tradition that some time a race of conquerors with white faces and with beards should come from the east to subdue them, and they were now convinced that this prophecy was about to be fulfilled.

In this hopeless and dazed state of mind Montezuma finally consented to permit the strangers to visit the city as

his guests. Cortez came, accompanied only by his own men, and they were all astonished at the richness and beauty of everything they saw. Throngs of Mexicans in holiday dress lined the sides of the road, welcoming them to the city. The entry of the Spaniards into Mexico was like a Roman triumph.

The meeting between Cortez and Montezuma was friendly, and Cortez explained through interpreters that he came with greetings from the greatest king in the world, the King of Spain. Montezuma listened politely, gave Cortez many valuable presents, and provided living quarters for him and his men.

But now that he was in the royal city of the Mexicans, Cortez began to wonder how he was to get out. If Montezuma should say the word, it would be only too easy for the Mexicans to surround and destroy the small band of Spaniards.

In this difficult situation Cortez conceived and executed a bold plan. He and his men seized the trusting Montezuma and made a prisoner of him, holding him thus as a hostage for their own good treatment.

Soon afterward Cortez found it necessary to return to Vera Cruz. Leaving a large part of his band in Mexico, who continued to hold Montezuma a prisoner, Cortez hastened toward Vera Cruz with promises of speedy return. While he was away, however, trouble arose between the Mexicans and the Spaniards who had been left behind. The Spaniards were besieged in their quarters, and they were just about to give up when Cortez returned with increased forces to relieve them.

From this time on there was open war between the Spaniards and Mexicans. Cortez persuaded Montezuma to ap-

pear before his people and plead for peace. But the Mexicans had no further use for their feeble Emperor. They insulted him and wounded him, so that shortly afterward he died, though whether he died from his wounds or was put to death by the Spaniards has never been certainly known. At any rate, he was no longer of any use to them.

The Spaniards now saw that they could not remain in the City of Mexico, but that they must fight their way out. Loading themselves down with the treasure of gold and jewels that they had collected, they attempted to leave the city secretly and at night. But the Mexicans discovered them and a fierce battle began on one of the roads connecting the city with the main shore. In this battle the Mexicans were completely victorious. Such of the Spaniards as could get away dropped their burden of treasure and fled to save their lives toward Vera Cruz.

It was a victory for the Mexicans, but the war was not yet over. Cortez at once began preparations for a new campaign. He secured some reënforcements of white men, and his Indian supporters numbered many thousands. The fighting lasted seventy-five days, but at the end of it the empire of the Mexicans was no longer in existence. The City of Mexico was destroyed, the temples, palaces and houses were torn down and ruined, and enormous numbers of the citizens put to death.

The civilization of the Aztecs never recovered from this blow. Cortez at once set about rebuilding the City of Mexico, and the very Indians who had helped him to conquer the city were made slaves to carry on the work of rebuilding. The new city, however, was not an Aztec city, but a Spanish city. The old heathen temples were replaced by Roman



CORTEZ ENTERS MEXICO CITY

Catholic churches, and Mexico was now governed by a viceroy as a part of the kingdom of Spain.

Mexico was as hard to govern in this way and as badly governed by Spain as the islands were, and the result was the same. After several centuries of much disturbance and discontent, Mexico finally freed itself from Spanish rule, and in 1822 it became an independent nation. For a hundred years Mexico has now been a sister republic of the United States on the North American continent.

But though Mexico ceased to be a part of Spain in 1822, the country has not ceased to be Spanish. The Spanish language and the Roman Catholic religion still prevail in Mexico. The Indians, so far as they have been civilized, have adopted Spanish civilization and have practically forgotten that three hundred years ago their ancestors ruled a mighty empire in Mexico.

So ended the Aztec civilization in Mexico, destroyed as much by its own weaknesses as by the power of the Spaniards. There can be no question that the Spanish civilization which has taken its place is better, but one cannot help regretting that the Spaniards of Cortez not only conquered old Mexico but destroyed it. But they were strong enough only for conquest and destruction, not strong enough or wise enough to control and direct the Indian nations of whose land and treasure they took possession.

Spain in South America.

The third settlement and conquest of Spain in America was in Peru. The conqueror of Peru was Francisco Pizarro. When Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Panama to the Pacific, Pizarro was with him. Some time later, Pizarro made explorations down the west coast of South America. He

heard here tales of a great nation richer even than the Mexican nation that Cortez had conquered. He appealed to the King of Spain for aid, and in 1531 he arrived on the coast with a little band of less than two hundred men, but all determined to fight to the end for the riches they expected to find in the cities of Peru.

In their expeditions inland, the Spaniards met with signs of a civilization that filled them with amazement. The natives of Peru were known as the Incas, "the people of the sun." They had built great roads along the whole length of the Andes mountains from Peru to Chile. At intervals along the roads were post-houses where travelers could stop and rest. Many of the buildings of the Incas were so large that even a European looked at them with astonishment. The ruins of some of these are still standing, and the stonework in them is of a kind that has never been surpassed in the whole history of the human race. Other evidences of a relatively high civilization abounded, and the mines of Peru, still among the richest in the world, had provided the Incas with an enormous amount of treasure of just the kind the Spaniards desired.

One of the first acts of Pizarro was to seize Atahualpa, the ruler or Inca of Peru, who had received him hospitably as a guest. Soon afterwards the Inca was put to death, and Pizarro became virtually the governor of the country. The boldness and audacity of these deeds must have dazed the Peruvians. They did not know, moreover, whether the strangers were gods or men, and their strange manner of fighting with sharp cutting swords and with cannon and muskets must have filled the Peruvians with superstitious terror.

For these reasons and others, the Spaniards found the

conquest of the great kingdom of the Incas comparatively easy. They took possession of it and forced the natives to pay tribute to them. Great stores of gold, silver and other valuable articles at once began to flow from Peru, as well as from Mexico and other regions in America, back to Spain, making Spain in the sixteenth century the proudest and richest nation in Europe.

From Peru as a point of departure, other Spanish colonies were established in South America, notably in Chile and in Argentina. These were all at first governed by viceroys from Spain and in the interests of Spain. But what happened in Mexico happened also on the southern continent. in 1816 and 1817 Chile and Argentina freed themselves from Spain, and in 1821 Peru became an independent state. Thus after many generations of profitable colonization in America, the Spanish rule in the New World came to an end. Of all the great possessions of Spain in America, not one remains, and Spain now exercises no control over a single foot of soil on the two American continents.

Spanish Civilization in America.

Spanish civilization remains, however, and it has spread and prospered until it has covered practically the whole of the New World south of those regions occupied by the United States. Here great cities have grown up, Buenos Aires in Argentina, Santiago and Valparaiso in Chile, Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, Lima in Peru, and many others, where all the arts and occupations of the modern world are carried on. All the Spanish countries in America have become self-governing, independent republics. Through commerce, agriculture, mining and manufacturing they have become rich, hundreds of times richer than the ancient kingdoms of

the Aztecs or the Incas. These riches, moreover, are not in the hands of cruel and tyrannical adventurers like Cortez and Pizarro, but they are to be won and enjoyed by any citizen who will apply himself industriously to his occupation. It is in these results, if anywhere, that one must look for the justification of the deeds of the conquerors.

Coronado and De Soto.

The achievements of Cortez in Mexico and Pizarro in Peru inspired other adventurers to seek elsewhere in America for rich empires to conquer. In 1540 Coronado entered California in search of the seven rich cities of Cibola about which he had heard from the natives. He did not find these cities, for the good reason that no such cities existed. Neither did he find any of the rich gold deposits of California, which did exist, for if he had, undoubtedly a large Spanish settlement would have established itself in that region.

One of the adventurers who had been with Pizarro was De Soto. In 1539 De Soto landed at Tampa Bay in Florida and began an exploring expedition that lasted three years. De Soto traversed a considerable part of the Mississippi valley, but discovered no great cities from which treasure could be extracted. He was probably the first white man to explore the Mississippi river.

Expeditions like those of Coronado and De Soto were so unsuccessful in the eyes of the Spanish that they did not result in the establishment of large settlements. If gold or other precious metals had been discovered in these regions, Spanish cities and Spanish civilization would have taken root there as well as in Cuba, Mexico and Peru. There have never been, however, any large Spanish settle-

ments north of Mexico, though the oldest settlement made within the present limits of the United States was made by the Spanish. This was at the town of St. Augustine in Florida, which was founded in 1565. But the chief consequence of the explorations of men like Coronado and De Soto was to give Spain a claim on the Mississippi valley and the northern shores of the Gulf of Mexico by right of first discovery. What became finally of the Spanish rights in these regions is part of the history of the United States, and that story will be told in its proper place.

VI

FRANCE IN AMERICA

THOUGH Spain was the first country of Europe to make settlements beyond the western ocean, Spain was not to have everything all her own way in the New World. The year after the discovery of land by Columbus, the Pope, Alexander VI, made a famous decree, known as the Bull of Demarcation. By this decree Spain, "on condition of planting the Catholic faith," was to possess all lands not yet Christianized that lay west of a certain meridian. It was a part of this decree that Portugal, the second great exploring nation of Europe at that time, was to possess all lands lying east of this meridian.

The Bull of Demarcation.

This decree was quite satisfactory to Spain and Portugal, for the effect of the Bull of Demarcation was practically to divide the world between them. Portugal was to have Africa and all the lands east of Africa, even to Asia, and Spain was to have all lands west to the dividing line in Asia which separated the Portuguese from the Spanish possessions. This ruling would have given Spain practically all of North and South America, including all islands along the coast. Of course the Pope did not know this when he issued the Bull of Demarcation, for the reason that no one at that time was aware of the existence of North and South America.

As explorations continued, however, it soon became apparent to all that the Pope had given away more than he intended. The treasure ships of Spain, coming back home with heavy burdens of gold, silver and other valuable imports from America, excited the envy of the other nations of Europe. Why should all these good things go to Spain alone? The Pope had never meant to give away a whole New World, reasoned the other nations, and if he had, they believed the time was come for a new division of the riches of this New World.

Magellan Circumnavigates the Globe.

France at this time was the chief rival of Spain, and France soon made known her desire to claim a share in the new discoveries. As Spain had already established herself in the southern regions, in the West Indies first, then in Mexico, Peru and Florida, exploration and conquest in this direction were closed to the French. The Spanish indeed had gone as far south in America as it is possible to go. In the year 1521 a brave navigator had set out from Spain and had even sailed around the southern end of South America into the Pacific. This explorer was Ferdinand Magellan, from whom the Straits of Magellan take their name. The voyage of Magellan proved finally that it is possible to reach India by sailing westward, for having passed through the Straits of Magellan, he continued westward across the Pacific until he reached the Philippines. Magellan himself was killed here in a battle with the natives, but one of his ships completed the voyage around the southern end of Africa back to Spain. This was the first time the world was circumnavigated.

The Northern Coasts.

The Spaniards did not care to explore the more northern and colder regions of America, because they were convinced that gold could be found only in warm countries. But there was another purpose in exploration besides the search for gold which the nations of Europe had not forgotten. This was the endeavor to find a passage to India and China nearer than the Portuguese route around the Cape of Good Hope at the southern end of Africa, and shorter also than Magellan's route around the southern end of South America. Columbus and his followers had looked in vain for a channel in the neighborhood of the West Indies that should lead them through the islands to the rich cities of Asia. There still remained, however, the possibility that a northern passage might be found. Nobody knew how far north the continent of North America extended, and the hope was cherished that some one of the indentations of the coast might be the beginnings of a channel along the northern shore of North America which would lead to China.

The French in the St. Lawrence.

One of the largest indentations of the coast of North America is the Gulf of St. Lawrence, into which the St. Lawrence river empties. The existence of this gulf became well known to Europeans fairly early, not through the voyages of explorers, but through the voyages of fishermen. The entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence is almost blocked by a large island known as Newfoundland, and near Newfoundland are the famous Banks of Newfoundland. These Banks are merely shallow places in the ocean, that is, comparatively shallow, for one may sail over the Banks of Newfoundland without knowing they are there. But the im-

portant thing about the Banks of Newfoundland is that fish are found here in great abundance, especially codfish. Even today the Banks of Newfoundland are one of the most important fishing grounds in the world, and for four hundred years they have been frequented by the various nations of Europe, and among the rest, by the French.

More or less vague reports concerning the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the large waterway leading inland from it had reached France from fishermen who had visited these waters. To find out more exactly the character of these regions and in the hope of finding here the much-sought passage to Asia, the French sent out an exploring expedition.

Jacques Cartier.

The commander of this expedition was Jacques Cartier. He set sail from St. Malo in France on April 20, 1534, and he arrived at Newfoundland on May 10, a comparatively short voyage of only twenty days. He had two small ships and the number of his men altogether on both ships was sixty-one. After some exploration in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Cartier turned back to France without having discovered the passage to Asia, but without having lost hope also that he might still find it. Before sailing away, Cartier erected a cross and took possession of the land in the name of the King of France. He also captured two Indians, whom he carried away with him. His purpose was to teach them the French language so that through them he might be able to talk with the natives on future voyages.

The next year Cartier came back on a second voyage, this time with three ships and one hundred and ten men. It was on this trip that Cartier first employed the name St.

Lawrence to designate a bay, a name which later was applied to the whole gulf and the great river that empties into it. Sailing westward among whales that spouted about his ships, Cartier at last found himself in the channel of the wide river. But he did not think it was a river. He thought it was the long-sought passage to China and India.

Cartier explored the river as far as a large Indian town called Hochelaga. Near this town was a hill to which Cartier gave the name Mont Royale. It is from this name that Montreal, the name of one of the most important of Canadian cities, is derived. Cartier was not himself the founder of Montreal, but the city was begun in 1642, over a hundred years later, by a group of Christian missionaries.

The name which Cartier gave to the whole country along the St. Lawrence was New France. In later days this name was replaced by Canada, which is merely the Indian word meaning "village" or "settlement." Cartier speaks of the chief of the Indian tribe at Quebec as the King of Canada, and gradually the name Canada came to be applied to the whole region which was first explored and then later settled by the French.

As winter was now approaching, Cartier prepared to remain on the St. Lawrence until spring. It proved to be a hard winter. His men were attacked by disease, and twenty-five of them died. With the coming of spring, the survivors prepared to return to France. They set up a new cross and wrote on it in Latin, "*Franciscus Primus, Dei Gratia Francorum Rex regnat,*" which means, "Here rules Francis the First, by the grace of God King of the French." Exactly what Francis the First ruled over was not yet made quite clear when Cartier and his men left for France.

One more voyage at least was made by Cartier to the St. Lawrence. This was in the year 1541, and again he spent the winter on the shores of the great river. When he sailed back to France he carried with him what he thought were samples of diamonds and gold found by his men. But the diamonds were certainly not diamonds, and the gold was certainly not gold. Indeed the several voyages of Cartier had not been highly profitable from the practical point of view in any way. They had not resulted in the discovery of a route to Asia, or of gold, silver, precious stones, or any other sources of wealth. The most valuable objects to be found in these regions still remained the codfish of the Banks of Newfoundland. As these were to be had without any elaborate explorations, the French for a time lost interest in their new possessions and sent out no further expeditions.

Champlain and New France.

In the meantime, however, the French fishermen continued to visit the Banks of Newfoundland, bringing back home with them not only codfish, but occasionally curious trinkets carved out of walrus ivory, or rich and comfortable furs, which they got by trading with the Indians of the mainland. The business thus carried on became so extensive that France was led at length to send out a new exploring expedition. This was put under the charge of Samuel de Champlain, who made his first voyage to the St. Lawrence in 1603. It was not his last, however, and for over thirty years Champlain devoted himself to the interests of France in America. He founded the city of Quebec in 1608, and it was here that he died in 1635. Champlain made many voyages of exploration up the St. Lawrence

and also along many of the tributaries of the St. Lawrence. He explored west as far as Lake Huron, Lake Ontario, and Lake Erie, and south to the waters which flow into the Hudson. Lake Champlain still preserves the memory of his name.

In his earlier explorations, Champlain was interested mainly in finding a way to China, as Cartier had been, and he thought this way lay through the St. Lawrence. Though the hope of reaching China never left him, Champlain also applied himself diligently to the task of establishing French colonies on the shores of the St. Lawrence. The French needed trading posts and towns here to protect their interests, for they had discovered a new source of gold. This was not gold dug from mines or wrested from the hands of Indian natives. The new source of treasure was furs. The Indians were skillful trappers of beavers, otters, foxes and other animals, and the furs which they brought to the Frenchmen and sold for a small price found a quick and profitable market when they were carried back to Europe.

The French Fur Traders.

As the early Spanish civilization of the south was based upon the quest for gold and silver, so the early French civilization of the north was based upon the quest for furs. The French colonists of the days of Champlain did not come to America to settle down and till the soil. They did not come with their wives and children and with the expectation of making their homes here. They came only on adventurous fur-hunting expeditions. Through the summer months these voyagers of the woods traveled about among the Indians, collecting all the furs they could get together. They loaded these furs on their ships, and then before the icy win-

ter set in, they sailed away to France, leaving behind them a few lonely bands to hold the settlements until they should return again in the spring for the next trading season.

With this manner of living it is plain that the French could make little progress in establishing permanent settlements in America. During the summer the St. Lawrence was cheerful and busy with the coming and going of ships and with throngs of native Indians who paddled their canoes laden with furs to be traded for the white man's hatchets, knives, beads and other trinkets. But after the ships sailed back to Europe, the frozen river was almost as silent and desolate as ever. The country was not any better off, was rather worse off, for the visits of the French traders. For the traders carried away the valuable products of the land, but they produced nothing themselves by their own labor.

Rivals of the French.

In 1634, just one hundred years after the first voyage of Cartier, it is estimated that there were only about sixty French people permanently settled in New France. In the meantime, however, other nations had been making permanent settlements in regions bordering on the St. Lawrence. These were the Dutch and the English. The Dutch settled on Manhattan Island, where they built the city of New Amsterdam, later New York. But Dutch settlers at once went up the Hudson as far as Albany, and Dutch traders were soon visiting the Indians throughout the southern side of the valley of the St. Lawrence.

The English were settled along the coast of New England and in Nova Scotia, and from their prosperous towns the traders went out to buy furs from the Indians in those regions which the French had hitherto had to themselves.

The story of the Dutch settlements in New Amsterdam and the English settlements at Massachusetts Bay and at Plymouth will be told more fully in later chapters, and likewise the story of the conquest of the Dutch settlements by the English. For the present it will be sufficient to point out that when the English in the year 1664 became masters of all the region south of the St. Lawrence and north of the Spanish possessions, they became the great rivals of the French for the control of the North American continent. The French soon realized that they must make their colonies stronger in order to compete with the English, and the rest of the story of France in America is concerned with the conflict of these two nations for supremacy. The question to be decided by this conflict was whether the New World was to be divided between Spain and France, or between Spain and England. In the struggle that now began, was England to crowd out France or was France to crowd England out of America?

A French Empire in America.

As the French explorers increased their acquaintance with the country which they called New France, the dream of the rich cities of India and China had faded. It quickly became apparent that the St. Lawrence was not a near approach to Asia, if indeed it was an approach at all. But as the old dream faded, a new one had taken its place. The French began now to see visions of a great French empire developing along the banks of the St. Lawrence, on the shores of the Great Lakes and in many fertile valleys beyond.

The fur trade continued to be an important side of the activities of the French in Canada, but in order effectually

to occupy the land and to lay the foundations for their new empire, they began also to plan now for permanent settlements. French farmers and artisans were encouraged to emigrate to Canada. Missionaries and priests also came over, not only to minister to the French inhabitants of the new country, but also to present the doctrines of the Church to the Indians. In fulfilling their task of carrying the Gospel to the Indians, the missionaries themselves often became explorers. In 1673, Father Marquette, a priest of the Jesuit mission at Mackinac, accompanied Louis Joliet on a voyage down the Mississippi river almost to its mouth. Even before the country was settled, priests ventured into distant and out-of-the-way places where the Indians were their only neighbors.

La Salle Explores the Mississippi.

In 1682 a French explorer from the St. Lawrence made a voyage of the greatest importance to the French. This explorer was La Salle, who in this year followed the Mississippi river to its mouth. By the right of discovery he took possession of the whole valley of the Mississippi in the name of the King of France.

La Salle could have had no notion of the extent of country he was thus claiming for France, or of the immense fertility of it. To him it must have seemed mainly a wilderness of forests and swamps and rivers. Only imagination could enable one to see in it a future French empire. And even with the aid of the imagination the empire would have seemed to lie very far in the future. At the time of La Salle's explorations, the whole French population on the American continent was not as large as the population of any one of a hundred towns that now occupy the valley of

the Mississippi. But these towns are not French, and that would have been the greatest of all their surprises if La Salle and the other French explorers could have looked into the future at the time when they so gayly took possession of their virgin empire in America. Sufficient to the day, however, is the joy thereof, and for the time being, the French were exultant with the notion of establishing a great empire in America that should be bounded only by the waters of the surrounding oceans.

A Chain of Forts.

The French did not intend to allow their rights and hopes in the Mississippi valley to rest merely upon explorers' claims. They began to establish military posts along the line of their explorations. They early had posts at Mackinac and Sault Ste. Marie, where the three Great Lakes, Huron, Michigan and Superior, come together. In 1707, Detroit was founded on the Detroit river, between Lake Erie and Lake Huron. Forts were also built in the regions which later became the States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Forts were built even as far east as Pennsylvania, Fort Duquesne being situated on the site of the present city of Pittsburgh. There were forts also at Natchez on the lower Mississippi and at Mobile and at New Orleans.

These forts were not all built at one time. They were built gradually, from year to year. But the purpose of them soon became apparent. It was evidently the intention of the French to build a chain of forts westward along the valley of the St. Lawrence, north and west among the Great Lakes, and southward to the Gulf, which should support the claim of the French to the whole of the northern part of America and to the whole of the Mississippi valley

and all that lay west of it. This would have meant that the English in their plans for colonization would be limited to the regions east of the Alleghany mountains and south of the St. Lawrence. As Florida was still held by the Spanish, the English colonies would be surrounded by enemies on all sides except the ocean side. The prospect that the English could hold their possessions if such conditions should prevail would not have been very cheerful.

The English Conquer New France.

This was a situation, however, which the English colonists did not peaceably accept. In many ways the English colonies along the coast were stronger than the French colonies in Canada. The French had their chain of forts from Quebec to the mouth of the Mississippi, but these forts were very far apart and separated by great stretches of uninhabited country. Moreover, the number of men that the French could put into these various military posts was not large. The French, indeed, with their comparatively small population in America, claimed more territory than they could see the use of, or could very well defend. The English, on the contrary, had a much larger population to draw on and they were, moreover, already looking across the Alleghanies to the valleys which they felt they would soon need.

The wars between the French and English for the possession of the North American continent were fought with the help of the Indians. The part which the Indians took in them was not slight. Both the French and the English sought allies among the savage tribes in the region which they claimed, and the story of these wars is the story of a fierce and cruel kind of fighting in which the white men were little better than the Indians. The white men sup-

plied the Indians with firearms and ammunition and in various ways paid them for their services. The chief allies of the English were the Iroquois, a brave and warlike tribe that lived in central New York. The allies of the French were the various tribes that lived in the valley of the St. Lawrence and elsewhere in Canada.

The French and Indian Wars.

The fighting between the French and English in America was not continuous, but took place in four separate campaigns or wars. The first of these was King William's War, which lasted from 1689 to 1697. The second was Queen Anne's War, from 1701 to 1703. The third was King George's War, from 1744 to 1748.

The fourth and last of these French and Indian wars corresponded to the Seven Years' War in Europe. It lasted in America from 1755 to 1760, and it came to an end with the capture of Quebec by General Wolfe in 1759 and of Montreal the next year. These two victories completed the English conquest of New France. By the terms of the Treaty of Paris, made in 1764, Canada was ceded to England, and likewise the other French possessions east of the Mississippi. In this treaty the territory west of the Mississippi was ceded by France to Spain. During this Seven Years' War the English had been at war also with Spain and had taken two Spanish towns, Manila in the Philippines and Havana in Cuba. By the terms of the Treaty of Paris, Manila and Havana were returned to Spain, and in exchange Spain ceded Florida to England.

Thus France lost all of the continent of North America, upon which she had hoped to found a great French empire. The rule of France in America was ended. The English,

on the contrary, were now the possessors of Canada, and of all the rest of North America east of the Mississippi. The wide and almost unknown expanse between the Mississippi and the Pacific was in the hands of Spain, but that, too, after it had passed back to the French in 1800, was to be joined to the rest of English-speaking America when it was bought from France in 1803 by the United States government.

It was at last determined as the result of this long conflict between England and France in America that the civilization of the North American continent was to be an English civilization. The French inhabitants of Canada became English subjects, as their thousands of descendants are to this day. Canada became and has remained a part of the British empire. But the further history of the great central regions of the North American continent between Canada and Mexico is not a part of the history of the British empire. It is the history of the origin and growth of the United States. By the defeat of France in America, the development of the United States became possible.

VII

THE NETHERLANDS IN AMERICA

THE word Netherlands means Low Lands, and the Netherlands are so named because they are a low flat country. The Netherlands are situated on the seacoast of western Europe, between France and Belgium on the south, Denmark on the north and Germany on the east. Parts of the Netherlands are so low that they are beneath the level of the sea, and if it were not for the huge walls or dikes that have been built to keep the water back, the sea would sweep over the land. There are several different provinces in the Netherlands which at one time were independent countries. With the exception of Belgium, which was formerly a part of the Netherlands but is now a separate kingdom, these provinces have been united into what may now be called the United States of the Netherlands.

Holland and the Dutch.

The most important of the states or provinces of the Netherlands is Holland. The people of Holland are the Dutch, and their chief city is Amsterdam. Many Dutch colonists from Holland came over to America, but they did not name their settlement New Holland. They named it New Netherland, from the name of their country as a whole. And the city that they built in America they called New Amsterdam.

Living as they did upon the seacoast, with many rivers, bays and creeks to make good harbors, the Dutch very nat-

urally became a seafaring people. They were a good deal more, however, than a nation of sailors. At the time when Europeans became interested in colonization in America, the Netherlands was one of the richest and most comfortable of the countries of Europe.

The Lowlanders were good farmers and dairymen, and were well provided with grain, fruits, flowers and vegetables, with butter, milk and cheese. They were weavers and wove the best wool cloth and linen cloth of the times. All sorts of articles that made living more comfortable were manufactured in their cities. In the cities also lived many scholars, authors and artists who helped to make the inhabitants of the Netherlands, and especially the Dutch in Holland, the most famous people in Europe.

Dutch Sailors.

The Dutch made good use of the land of their own country, but as the country was small and the population large, commerce became one of the chief means by which the Dutch added to their resources. One of the kinds of commerce in which the Dutch sea-captains and merchants engaged was that of distributing the products of India, China and the Molucca Islands, also known as the Spice Islands, in Asia, through the northern ports of Europe.

The Dutch did not import these articles directly, but they were middlemen or distributors. The Portuguese were the people who carried on the greater part of the direct trade with Asia, and they brought their merchandise to Lisbon, the chief city of Portugal. The Dutch merchants then bought their supplies at Lisbon, loaded their ships, and sailed away to sell them in all the ports along the shores of the North Sea and of the Baltic.

This arrangement worked well so long as the Dutch were free to go to Lisbon and buy what they wanted. But it happened that the Dutch engaged in a war with Spain, and that at about the same time the Spanish took possession of Portugal. This made Lisbon a Spanish city, a city of their enemies, which the Dutch merchants could no longer visit.

There was a silver lining, however, to this cloud of misfortune. For the Portuguese possessions in Asia having passed to Spain by the Spanish conquest of Portugal, and the Dutch being then at war with Spain, the Dutch thought this would be a great chance to obtain for themselves a foothold in Asia by seizing some of the former Portuguese colonies. By doing this they could then trade directly with the ports of the Orient.

This plan was carried out. Spain at this time was at war not only with the Netherlands, but also with England. She could not protect her Far Eastern conquests, and the result was that some of the richest parts of Asia passed into the control of the Dutch. With the island of Java as its center, the Dutch began building up a trade and an empire that soon put them in the position in the East which Portugal had once occupied. Java remains to this day a Dutch possession, and the Dutch are still among the most active in the commerce of the East Indies.

The Northwest and the Northeast Passage.

One thing leads to another, and now that they had established themselves in the East, the Dutch became eager to find a quick and safe route by water to their new colonies. They thus became interested in exploration. They knew the old route of the Portuguese, down the west coast of Africa and around the Cape of Good Hope, but what

they wanted, like everybody else, was a shorter and quicker route.

There seemed to be two possible chances of finding a shorter route. One was by sailing west, as Columbus and other explorers had done. But so far these western explorations had had no useful result. They had shown that one could reach Asia by sailing around the southern end of South America and then across the Pacific. But this was not shorter, it was longer than the route by way of the southern end of Africa. No channel among the West Indies had been found, as Columbus had hoped would be found, and by the time the Dutch became interested in exploration it had become pretty clear that the coast line of South and North America extended without a break from Cape Horn to a point very far north. Just what the northern limits of North America were was not known, for in this region exploration had not yet made it possible to trace the line of the coast.

The second of these two possible chances of finding a shorter route to Asia lay in just these unknown regions of the north. Neither the extreme north of Europe nor the extreme north of America had as yet been thoroughly explored, and it was in both of these directions that the search for a shorter route to Asia was now sought. The hoped-for route around the northern end of Europe was spoken of as the Northeast Passage, and the hoped-for route around the northern end of America was known as the Northwest Passage.

Henry Hudson and the Half Moon.

Not having any experienced explorers of their own, the Dutch looked elsewhere for someone to lead their expedi-

tion. At this time there was living in England an Englishman who had made a great reputation by sailing around the North Cape at the northern end of Europe almost to the North Pole, and then eastward to Russia. This man was Henry Hudson. The Dutch invited him to come over to Holland and to take charge of another exploration in the same direction. They hoped that Henry Hudson might be able to sail still further, even all the way around the north of Europe to China, India and the new Dutch colonies in Asia. If he should discover a route in this direction, the Dutch merchants could save much time and labor in bringing their coffee and tea, their pepper and spices, back to the markets of Europe.

The Half Moon.

Henry Hudson had only one little vessel for his voyage of exploration, and the sailors he took with him numbered less than twenty. The name of his ship was the *Half Moon*. He set sail early in April in the year 1609, and in about a month he had doubled the North Cape. He soon found, however, that the ice was so thick that he could go no further. He saw that there was no chance of sailing northeast to Asia, and at once he turned about to try for better fortune by a northwestern route.

The little *Half Moon* plowed its way across the Atlantic, and by the middle of the summer the voyagers were cheered by the sight of land. They anchored on what is now the coast of Maine to make repairs to their ship. Their voyage had already lasted more than three months, and it must have been a great relief for the weary sailors to stretch their legs on shore. They seem to have lived like kings

during the week of their stay here, for they caught fifty codfish, a hundred lobsters and a large halibut.

The Hudson River.

After this little vacation on the Maine coast, Henry Hudson and his sailors continued their voyage southward along the shore. They sailed as far south as Virginia, and then, turning northward again, they searched for any inlet that might seem to promise a way through America to Asia. It was on this quest that the *Half Moon*, on September 3, 1609, entered the beautiful bay which later was to be known as the harbor of New York. Sailing up the bay, the commander of the *Half Moon* soon found himself at the entrance to a great river. He continued up this river, past Manhattan Island, past the Palisades, past the Catskills, which may already have taken on their autumn coloring, past the site of Albany, and even as far as Troy. The explorers stopped here because the water in the river was no longer deep enough to bear up the *Half Moon*.

An Indian Feast.

Everywhere the explorers went they found Indians, who came to visit them, some with friendly intentions, some with flights of hostile arrows. At one place the strangers were invited to a feast. "On our coming into the house," says Henry Hudson, in his journal of the voyage, "two mats were spread out to sit upon, and immediately some food was served in well-made red wooden bowls; two men were also dispatched at once with bows and arrows in quest of game, who soon after brought in a pair of pigeons which they had shot. They likewise killed a fat dog, and skinned it with

great haste, with shells which they had got out of the water." The Indians regarded dog stew as a great luxury, but Henry Hudson does not say whether or not he partook of this dish. He did say, however, that the land there "is the finest for cultivation that I ever in my life set foot upon, and it also abounds in trees of every description."

Having sailed as far as he could up this great river, which now bears the name of the commander of the *Half Moon*, Hudson returned to the mouth of the river and started for home. The staunch little *Half Moon* again crossed the Atlantic, and on the 7th of November, 1609, after a voyage of over six months, the ship arrived at the harbor of Dartmouth in England.

Henry Hudson's Last Voyage.

Henry Hudson never made any further voyages for the Dutch, and only one more for anyone. His next and last voyage was made the year following his exploration of the Hudson river. He was sent out this time by the English, who also were eager to find a Northwest Passage. He made his way around the northern shores of North America until he reached that great bay, itself as large as an ocean, now known as Hudson's Bay. His ship becoming locked in the ice, he was compelled to pass the winter here. As soon as the ice broke up in the summer, he prepared to continue his explorations. But some of the men on the ship, weary of exploration, rose up in mutiny. They seized Henry Hudson and put him, together with his son and seven other men, into an open boat, which they set adrift upon the desolate wastes of the great bay. The ship then sailed away to England, and that was the last ever seen or heard of Henry Hudson and his companions. What their

final fate was no one knows, though it is only too easy to guess.

Dutch Settlements in America.

The glowing report which Henry Hudson had made concerning the great river up which he sailed, led the Dutch to continue their explorations in that region. They made a settlement on Manhattan Island as early as 1613, and various explorers examined the coast all the way from Naragansett Bay to Delaware Bay. The merchants at Amsterdam formed a company, known as the United New Netherland Company, to carry on trade in these regions, and very soon the Dutch traders were pushing up the Hudson river as far as Albany. The Dutch had a fort not far from the present site of Albany, which they called Fort Nassau. They made treaties with the Iroquois Indians, and by these alliances they greatly increased their strength.

The Dutch soon began to send not only traders, but also farmers and other settlers for their new colony. They provided a governor for the province, who was appointed by the authorities at Amsterdam. In the year 1620, when Peter Minuit was governor, the Dutch bought Manhattan Island from the Indians who lived on it for twenty dollars' worth of beads and ribbons. The city of Albany, then called by the Dutch Fort Orange, was founded several years before the purchase of Manhattan Island. Various other forts and settlements were made by the Dutch, one called Good Hope, on the Connecticut river at the place where the city of Hartford now stands, and another, also called Fort Nassau, on the Delaware river, near the present site of Philadelphia. What the Dutch wanted to do was to establish a colony in America extending from the Delaware river

to the Connecticut river on the south and east and to the French colony on the St. Lawrence at the north.

Prosperity of the Dutch.

After it was well under way, the Dutch colony in America prospered. The settlement on Manhattan Island was incorporated as a town in 1653, at which time it received officially the name New Amsterdam. The population of the town at the time was about eight hundred. But in New Jersey, in Connecticut, and all along the valley of the Hudson there were other Dutch farms and villages. New Amsterdam was the commercial center of the colony, and a profitable business in farm products, timber, and above all in furs, was conducted. In time a good many English and people of other nationalities came to settle in New Amsterdam. They were generally welcomed, for the main conditions the Dutch imposed on persons who wanted to settle in their colony was that they should be well-behaved and industrious. They differed in this respect from both the French colony in the north and the Spanish colonies in the south. Both the French and the Spanish in their plans of colonization put a great deal of stress on religious opinions. Only Roman Catholics were allowed to settle in New France, and the Spanish colonists, when they took possession of a new land, always did so in the name of the King of Spain and the Roman Catholic Church.

The Dutch, however, were not Roman Catholics. They belonged to that Reformed or Protestant Church, the doctrines of which were at the basis also of the Puritan Church in England. In the practical affairs of the Dutch, however, the Church and the State were not inseparably united. The Dutch did not take possession of their new colony and

administer it in the name equally of the Dutch State and the Protestant Church, but they governed it as a place where men and women might carry on the business of their lives peacefully and happily, without being held too strictly to account by the government for the religious opinions they might choose to hold.

Many people therefore came to the Dutch colonies who would not have been welcomed elsewhere. Among these were French Protestants who were not allowed to settle in New France, English Puritans, Moravians, Quakers and Jews. From this it will be seen that very early in its history, even when it was still known as New Amsterdam, the city of New York was a cosmopolitan place, a place in which people of many different races and different ways of thinking lived, and a place also in which business and commerce were among the chief interests.

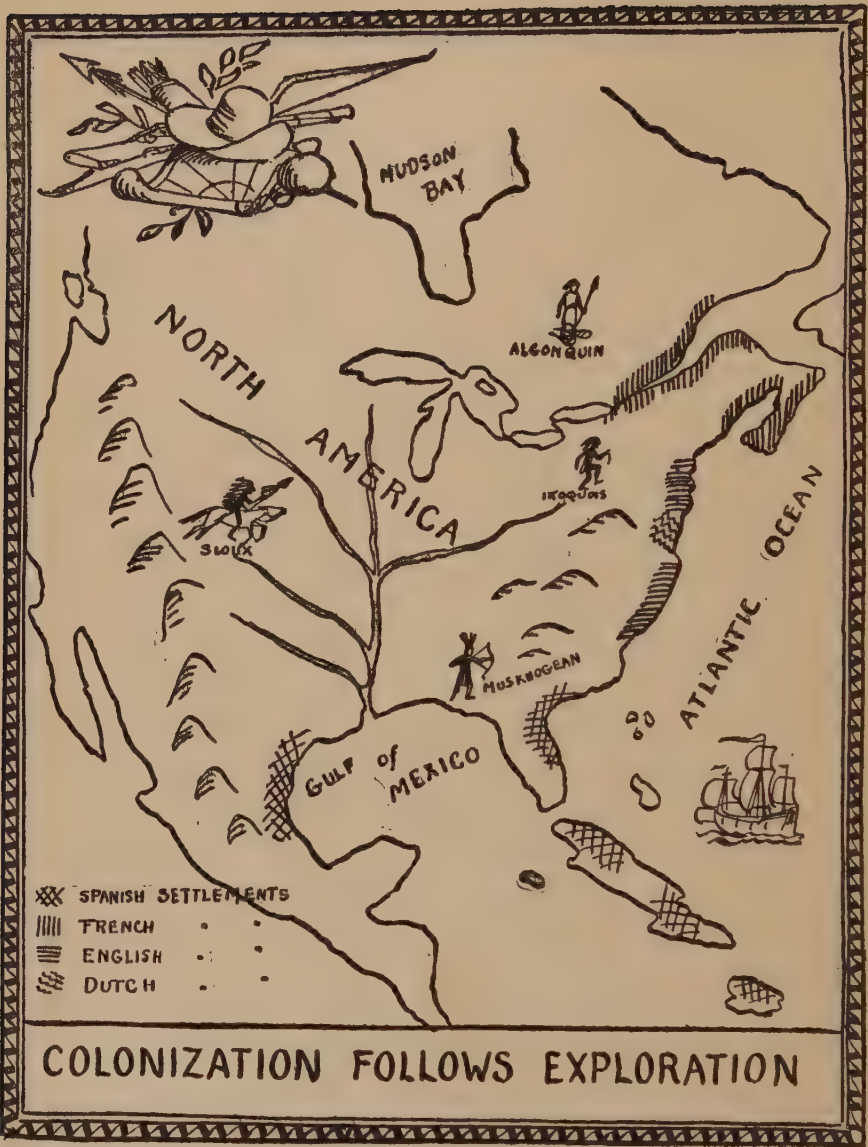
The English and the Dutch in America.

The growing prosperity of the Dutch at New Amsterdam did not escape the jealous notice of some of their neighbors. The English especially were disturbed at the notion of a Dutch colony in America. An English colony had been established in Virginia just a year or two before Henry Hudson sailed up the Hudson river, and another in New England, where Plymouth Colony was begun in 1620. The Dutch colony lay between the Virginia plantation and the New England plantation, but the English maintained that their rights really extended all along the coast and indefinitely inland, from Virginia to Nova Scotia.

The Dutch based their claim to the region in which they were settling on the ground of the explorations of Henry Hudson, followed at once by their own actual occupation

of the soil. Henry Hudson was not the first explorer who had visited the Hudson river, for both French and Spanish ships had entered New York harbor and the Hudson river before. But neither the French nor the Spanish had ever made settlements there, nor were they now claiming the Dutch colonies. It was the English who were claiming them, and no English explorer had ever sailed through these waters before Henry Hudson. Moreover, the English themselves had made a rule in the days of Queen Elizabeth that even if the navigators of some country should explore a region and the country should not follow up these explorations by actual colonization and settlement, then the explorations were not to be considered as giving that country any claim to the lands explored. But the English now maintained that Henry Hudson was an Englishman, even though he was in the service of the Dutch when he made his voyage in the *Half Moon*, and that the countries discovered by an Englishman must belong to England. This was an absurd claim to make, but even if there had been any justice in this contention, by the rule mentioned above, the English would have lost their right to the newly settled region, for it was not they but the Dutch who settled in it.

The truth is that the English had no very good reason for the determination to deprive the Dutch of their colony except the reason that they wanted to do so. They could easily see the time when it would be inconvenient to them to have a Dutch state separating the two divisions of their colony in Virginia and New England. Very early indeed, therefore, the English in America began to protest to the Dutch that they were trespassing on English rights in settling on Manhattan Island and along the Hudson. But in Europe the English and the Dutch had long been allies and



friends, especially during all the time that they were engaged in the bitter contest against Spain. Neither country wished to stir up trouble in America, and the Dutch therefore continued with their settlements and the English did nothing except enter a mild protest.

New Netherland Becomes New York.

After the defeat of Spain, the friendly relations between England and the Netherlands were no longer so necessary, but nevertheless, apart from minor disturbances, the Dutch continued to hold their own in America. In England, however, determination to take over the Dutch colony gradually became so strong that it expressed itself in vigorous action. During the reign of Charles II an expedition from England was therefore sent over, secretly, to attack and to take possession of the Dutch settlements. England and the Netherlands were at peace at this time, but the English of course maintained that the Dutch had no right to settle on this land at any time, whether the countries were at peace or war. Peter Stuyvesant was the Director or Governor of New Netherland at this troubled period, and when the English vessels appeared in the harbor, he prepared to defend as best he could the Dutch city on Manhattan Island. But it soon became apparent that the Dutch were not strong enough to oppose the English. Much against his will Peter Stuyvesant permitted the white flag to be raised over the fort at New Amsterdam. This was done on September 4, 1664, and with the Dutch surrender the colony of New Netherland was at an end and the British province of New York came into existence.

The passing of New Netherland out of the hands of the Dutch into the hands of the English was so peaceful that the

life of the community was not much disturbed. The English and the Dutch were very much alike in many ways, and they had long been living harmoniously together, except for differences of political opinion, in the Dutch town on Manhattan Island and along the valley of the Hudson.

The chief result of the change of New Amsterdam to New York was that no new settlers from the Netherlands now came over to America. The Dutch who were here remained and became English subjects, but their number was not increased by further migrations from Holland. The English, on the other hand, increased rapidly in numbers. They soon became the leaders in the life of the community and the Dutch gradually adopted English ways. They also adopted English speech, and though there are many people of Dutch descent in the region that was once New Netherland, the Dutch language is no longer spoken. It has given way completely to English.

But though the Dutch no longer have a colony in America and though they have given up their Dutch speech and most of their other Dutch customs, the memory of the Dutch in America is still gratefully cherished. Many distinguished Americans, and among them Theodore Roosevelt, have been proud to trace their ancestry back to colonial Dutch settlers in New Netherland. The stories of Washington Irving will also keep the memory of the Dutch colonists alive in the minds of American readers. Rip Van Winkle and Diedrich Knickerbocker, Tarrytown and Sleepy Hollow, are words that awaken pleasant echoes of the old Dutch life in Manhattan and on the Hudson. If for no other cause, the Americans have reason to be grateful to the Dutch for adding the materials of these legends to the story of their national life.

VIII

ENGLAND IN AMERICA

IN bringing European civilization to America, England has had a larger share than any other nation, and yet England was the last of the nations of Europe to make strong settlements on the American continent. From these settlements the United States has come, and the story of England in America leads directly to the story of the beginnings and development of the United States.

Early English Voyages.

English explorations in the New World began early, but these early expeditions bore little fruit. England even had a chance to be the country from which the first voyage of discovery to America set out. For while Columbus was begging for assistance in Spain to carry out his proposals for exploration, and seemed merely to be wasting his breath, so far as any prospects of help were concerned, he sent his brother Bartholomew to England to try for better luck at the court of the English king. But England was too slow, for before the king could make up his mind to help Columbus, Spain agreed to provide him with ships and sailors. The credit for preparing the way to the discovery of America therefore goes to Spain, and not to England.

A few years after the discovery, however, England sent out several expeditions with the usual two purposes of exploration of that time, that is, to look for treasure and to

look for a near route to Asia. The commander of the first expedition was John Cabot, who was not an Englishman but, like Columbus, a native of Genoa. Cabot was in the employ of certain merchants of Bristol in England, and in 1497 he voyaged across the Atlantic and landed at Labrador, or Newfoundland, or somewhere in that vicinity—precisely where is not known. In the next year he made another voyage, and on this second voyage his son, Sebastian Cabot, probably went with him.

These voyages of the Cabots were not followed by other English voyages or by settlements. Neither rich cities and gold nor a near route to Asia had been discovered by the Cabots, and English enthusiasm for the New World waned. At this time the English were not greatly interested in explorations, nor were they leaders in the commercial activities of Europe. The Italians, the Spanish, the Portuguese and the Dutch were all more stirring in trade and commerce, and in all matters pertaining to the sea, than the English.

The Struggle between England and Spain.

A large part of England's energy for a number of years after the discovery of America was taken up in a great conflict between Spain and England. Spain was then the richest and most powerful nation of Europe. Moreover, Spain regarded herself as specially the defender of the Roman Catholic Church. Now it happened that Henry VIII, King of England, decided about the year 1530, for a variety of reasons, to join the party of revolt against the authority of the Pope and the Roman Catholic Church. This party had grown up in several parts of Europe as a result of the teachings of the Reformation. England thus became a Protestant nation, and the struggle which followed

between Spain and England was in large measure a struggle to determine whether a Protestant nation like England should be permitted to exist.

Spain undertook the conquest of England, but when in the year 1588 the great Spanish fleet known as the Spanish Armada set out for England, it was met and defeated by the English ships. With the destruction of her fleet, the hopes of Spain were demolished. Spain never recovered from this heavy blow. On the other hand, the English felt freed from a great danger that for years had been hanging over them. They had now no strong enemies, and in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, with high courage and boundless energy, they turned to many new plans and endeavors. This was the time when William Shakspeare lived, when poetry so flourished that England became, as it has been said, a nest of singing birds, when bold adventurers sailed to all parts of the world, and in the New World especially carried to the settlements that were made there no small share of the proud and courageous spirit that then was present in English life.

Sir Francis Drake.

Several interesting voyages were made to the New World by the English before they established any permanent settlements there. In 1577 Francis Drake, who a few years before had seen the Pacific from Panama, carried out a plan he had made to sail into that ocean. He crossed the Atlantic, sailed along the eastern coast of South America, through the Straits of Magellan, and then up the western coast of South America. Here he met with Spanish treasure ships which he plundered, filling his own vessel with the gold and silver of England's great enemy. He sailed north

as far as Oregon, claiming this region for England. Turning south again, he stopped for a while in California, and finally crossed the Pacific, sailed around the Cape of Good Hope at the southern end of Africa, and so safely back to England. The voyage had lasted three years, it had been begun with five and ended with one vessel, but it had made Francis Drake famous, for he was the first Englishman to circumnavigate the globe. He was, moreover, the first commander of any nation to sail his vessel completely around the globe, since Magellan was killed in the Philippines and therefore did not finish the voyage.

The Northwest Passage.

There are one or two other early English voyages that should not be forgotten. In 1576 Martin Frobisher tried in vain to find a Northwest Passage around North America to Asia. He made two other voyages later, but with no greater success. In 1585 and the several years following, John Davis also made three voyages for the same purpose. Though neither Frobisher nor Davis succeeded in sailing around the northern end of North America, they made a brave effort, and their names deservedly have been kept alive as names of places in the geography of the American Arctic regions.

Many other explorers after the time of Frobisher and Davis made this same endeavor, but the first person to sail around the northern coasts of North America, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, was a Norwegian, Captain Amundsen, in a voyage which began in 1903 and ended in 1906. This was over three hundred years after the first attempts, and by the time the voyage was successfully made, the orig-

inal purpose of it was no longer important. Fast-sailing steamships had made ocean distances less of a hindrance than they had been in the earlier days of navigation. The Suez Canal, moreover, had greatly shortened the voyage to Asia for Europeans, and America also, with her ports on the Pacific, was likewise brought closer to Asia. Finally, in 1914, when the Panama Canal was opened for the passage of ships, this age-long quest for a passage through America to the Pacific and Asia came to an end. The passage was not found, however, but it was made by American engineering skill and labor.

Unsuccessful Experiments.

The excitements of exploration, with the prospect of plundering Spanish treasure ships, at first naturally were more attractive to Englishmen than slower projects for colonization. But even before the defeat of the Spanish Armada, several attempts at settlement in America were made. Sir Humphrey Gilbert began a settlement in Newfoundland in 1583, but the experiment proved to be a failure. In 1584 and the years immediately following, Sir Walter Raleigh endeavored to plant a colony in a warmer and a more favorable situation. This was on Roanoke Island, off the Carolina coast. Raleigh made such glowing reports of the attractiveness of this region that Queen Elizabeth named it after herself. She called it Virginia, which was one of the many poetical names of the great queen current at the time. But this colony also was a failure, and within half a dozen years after it was founded, it had disappeared, leaving no traces, except its name, behind it.

English Colonies in America.

Apparently discouraged by the fate of these unsuccessful colonies in the New World, for some years the English made no further attempts to make settlements beyond the seas. The first permanent English colonies in America were founded at about the same time as the Dutch settlement in New Netherland, and they were founded for very much the same purpose. Though they had not given up the hope of finding a passage through to China, the English, like the Dutch, had at length come to realize that the prosperity of a colony must depend upon trade, upon permanent settlement, and upon the labor of the permanent settlers in producing articles of commercial value.

With these convictions in mind, the English began to form trading companies to take charge of and to encourage settlements in English colonies. The East India Company was founded in 1600, and this company for generations controlled British trade in India and other parts of Asia. In the year 1606, the London Company and the Plymouth Company were formed to establish colonies in "that part of America called Virginia, and other parts and territories in America." At this time the term Virginia was used as the name for a larger extent of territory than that now contained within the limits of the State of Virginia. The term Virginia, in fact, was not clearly defined, and it will be enough to say that the London Company was supposed to make settlements on the southern coasts of America and the Plymouth Company on the northern coasts.

The Settlement at Jamestown.

The London Company made the first start, and in the year 1607 the Company sent one hundred and twenty col-

onists to Virginia. These colonists settled at Jamestown, so named for the King of England, on the James River in Virginia, and Jamestown is therefore the oldest English settlement in America.

For a while the colony was weak, in danger of being destroyed by starvation, by the attacks of hostile Indians, by sicknesses and disease, even by the quarrels and dissatisfactions which arose within the colony itself. In these first years of the colony, Captain John Smith was a leading and helpful spirit. This courageous soldier made the colonists obey orders and he made them labor to protect themselves. He required the colonists to plant corn and in this way he saved the colony from starvation. He also explored the Chesapeake Bay, the Potomac, and many other Virginia rivers. He had various thrilling adventures among the Indians, and at one time his life was saved by the daughter of an Indian chief. Her name was Pocahontas, and later she married one of Captain John Smith's men and was taken to England, where she was received with great honor.

The colony fortunately outlived its first troubled years, and in a short time it began to prosper. Tobacco was then a very profitable crop to raise, because there was a good market for it in Europe. As early as 1612 the cultivation of tobacco was begun in Virginia, and for a long period this was the principal occupation of the settlers in that colony. Many people who could not get along in England, people in debt, convicts in prisons, beggars and vagabonds, were brought over to work on the tobacco plantations. In the year 1619 the first Negro slaves were brought into America. There were only twenty of them in this first group, and these twenty were quickly sold to the Virginia planters. After that more and more slaves were brought in, and these

Negro slaves contributed in large measure to the character of the life that developed in Virginia.

Virginia Plantations.

In general this was an agricultural life. No large cities grew up in Virginia, but the planters tended to scatter and to live on large estates bordering rivers and creeks down which they could freight their tobacco, grain and other products to the markets of England. The presence of slaves in Virginia naturally made social distinctions very important. As the slaves were the laborers, any man who labored with his hands might expose himself to the danger of being classed with the slaves. The large landholders thus became employers and the socially important persons in the community. On their estates lived the slaves and the poorer white people, but every ambitious white person aspired to be the holder of his own plantation and to have slaves of his own.

On the side of government the colony in Virginia had various ups and downs, but in the main it was administered by a royal governor, sent out by the King of England. The colonists themselves did not always have a great deal to say about the control of their colony. They did have an elected legislature, however, known as the House of Burgesses, the members of which were chosen by the votes of the people. This is the name by which the legislature of Virginia is still known, and the House of Burgesses has had a continuous history from the time when it first met, in 1619, to the present day.

Plymouth Colony.

Thirteen years after the founding of the colony at Jamestown, the second great center of English influence in

America was established. This came with the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at the place now known as Plymouth, in Massachusetts. The Pilgrims set sail from Plymouth in England in a little ship called the *Mayflower*, and a few days before the Christmas of 1620, in the midst of a bleak New England winter, they arrived at what was to be their home. They had planned to settle in some part of Virginia, but though they had been carried further north than they intended to go by stormy weather, they remained nevertheless at the place where they landed.

Their colony here met with many hardships at first and the colonists were in grave danger of starvation. They made friends with the Indians, however, who gladly traded their corn and their furs for beads, hatchets and other European novelties. One of the chiefs, Canonicus, of the tribe of Narragansetts, was not so peaceably inclined, and he sent a bundle of arrows wrapped in a rattlesnake's skin as a token of defiance. But Governor Bradford of Plymouth Colony gave him as good as he sent, for he stuffed the skin with powder and shot and returned it. Canonicus understood this language very well, and soon after he also made peace with the white men.

The later history of Plymouth Colony need not be followed separately, for in the year 1629 was formed a larger company, known as the "Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England." The colony of Massachusetts Bay finally absorbed Plymouth Colony, and as an element in the formation of the American nation, Plymouth Colony and Massachusetts Bay Colony may be regarded as one. Very much the same sentiments and purposes were present in the minds of the colonists in both places, and these sentiments and purposes have been so important in

American life that something more must be said about them. The Pilgrim Fathers brought to America what Americans have in mind when they speak of the New England spirit, and no one can understand America who does not know what these words mean.

In many ways it is easier to understand Virginia, the earlier of the two great foundation settlements in America, than it is to understand New England. The Virginians came to America for rather matter-of-fact reasons. They wanted land, they wanted to earn a comfortable living, and they wanted the excitement which new experiences could give them. But the early New Englanders emigrated from Old England to America for different reasons. They came not primarily to find a comfortable manner of living, but to find peace for their minds.

The Puritans.

To explain the particular troubled state of mind that these colonists were in, one must go back pretty far into the history of the Church and of religious opinion in Europe. Only in this way can one understand the third of the three great impulses that led to colonization in America. These three impulses were the desire for wealth, the desire for land, and the desire for freedom. Of these the last is the greatest, and in New England it found its first full and clear expression.

When we look back on European civilization to the several centuries preceding the discovery of America, we find a state of affairs with respect to religion and the organization of the Church very different from that which prevails today. In the earlier periods of European civilization, only one form of religion and only one Church existed.

These were, of course, the Christian religion, based upon the Bible, and the particular organization of the Christian Church which had its center at Rome and its chief officer in the Pope.

In this Roman Catholic Church, as it is called, a strong and elaborate system of government had grown up. The Pope, the bishops and the priests kept a firm hand upon the members of the Church, and prescribed to them just what they should learn and think and do in all matters of religion. No individual had the right to think and act differently from the ways laid down by the Church. In other words, the Church compelled conformity, and the person who did not wish to conform to the dogmas or teachings of the Church might find himself subject to considerable inconvenience. He might even find himself burned at the stake as a heretic, as many persons did find themselves at the time of the Spanish Inquisition.

The Power of the Church.

The Roman Catholic Church held other powers, moreover, than those which she exercised upon the minds of individual persons. In every Christian country of medieval Europe, the Pope shared in the government of the country with the sovereign of the country, emperor or empress, king or queen, whatever the sovereign might be. In every country the Pope and the Church had rights which the sovereign of the country could not set aside, and every country paid a tribute or tax to the Roman Church, known as Peter's pence, which the Church used for whatever purposes it saw fit.

The great weapon of the Church in maintaining this strong position was the power of excommunication. The

Roman Church asserted that it possessed the key of heaven, that no one could be saved and enter the kingdom of heaven except as he did so by following the procedure required by the Church. If a person or a nation of persons were excommunicated by the Roman Church, they might not then hope for salvation. By excommunicating them the Church shut the doors of heaven upon them and they must remain forever in outer darkness. It will readily be seen that these powers of the Roman Catholic Church gave that Church a compelling control over persons who believed that the powers so claimed could be actually put into practice.

The Reformation in Europe.

These far-reaching claims of the Roman Catholic Church were not always unquestioningly accepted, though for a period of six or seven centuries the Church managed to maintain its authority and its unity virtually unimpaired. Shortly after the discovery of America, however, a very strong movement in opposition to the Roman Catholic Church sprang up in Europe. Among the great leaders of this opposition movement, known as the Reformation, were Martin Luther in Germany, and John Calvin at Geneva in Switzerland. In England the party of the Reformation was supported by Henry VIII, and in consequence England renounced the authority of the Pope as head of the Church and maintained that no power outside of England was greater than the power of her own government. England thus asserted her complete right to govern her own people without interference on the part of the Pope or any outside person.

Having thrown off the authority of the Pope, England proceeded then to organize her own Church, commonly

known as the Established Church, with bishops to govern it. During the period of unquestioned Roman Catholic supremacy, the State Church, or required Church, in all nations had of course been the Roman Catholic Church. But in England now the State or required Church was the Established Church. When the Roman Catholic Church was rejected, the English people were not allowed to think and act as they pleased in matters of religion. The theory that a nation must have only one religion and one Church had been so long and so earnestly taught by the Roman Catholic Church that few people questioned it. England therefore merely substituted her own Established Church for the Roman Catholic Church, holding and defending it as the one true Church for all English people.

The Puritans and the Established Church.

But the ideas of the Reformation, once started, were carried further and further. The earliest reformers at first objected only to the notion of the Pope as exerting universal control over the religious life. Certain groups of them then rejected the right of bishops or any officers of the State to exercise authority in matters of religious belief, and finally the limits of independence were reached when it was maintained that the individual was responsible only to his own private conscience for the religious opinions he felt constrained to hold.

Opposition to the bishops and to the Established Church in England centered in a group of persons known as the Puritans or Independents. The Puritans objected to the State Church because they thought the episcopal form of Church government was wrong. They preferred what may be called the congregational form, that is, a kind of govern-

ment in which the members of the congregation, not a bishop appointed by the king, were the source of authority. The Puritans also objected to the Established Church because they thought that many of the customs of the Established Church were superstitious and that the general moral tone of the Church was low. A great deal of importance was attached by the Puritans to the direct teaching of the Bible, and all elaborate ceremonies they rejected as vain and useless. There were many other characteristics of the Puritan belief, but they may be summed up by saying that the ideals of the Puritans were self-reliance in thinking, simplicity and right conduct in living, and independent control by the community of its own affairs.

Puritan Government.

This last notion, that the members of a community should control its own affairs, the Puritans or Independents applied not only to their Church but also to government in general. They did so necessarily, since the Puritans, like almost everybody else in those days, thought of the Church and State as united, the Church being a necessary part of the State and the State being the support and defense of the Church. The Puritans, in their notions of the State, favored a kind of government in which the people who were governed took active part and had something to say as to what laws should be passed, or what taxes should be paid. The opposite to this kind of representative or democratic government is an autocratic government, in which a ruler may do as he pleases without considering the wishes of the people. When the king of England attempted to rule in this autocratic way, refusing to summon a Parliament in which the representatives of the people could appear and

speaking for their rights, the Puritan party in England became so strong that in 1649, under the leadership of Oliver Cromwell, it took possession of the government, deposed the king, and changed England from a kingdom to what the Puritans called a commonwealth. This work of the Puritans was to some extent undone later when, by another revolution, England once more became a kingdom. But the Puritan revolution had shown pretty conclusively that no king could ever again rule England autocratically for long.

In the beginning, however, the earlier Puritans were not numerous enough or strong enough to stand up for what they considered to be their rights. England was not prepared to have its own Established Church, with its bishops and its ceremonies, still less its ancient governmental system, called in question by these disturbing Puritan teachings. The Established Church demanded conformity, just as the older Roman Catholic Church had done, and it attempted to secure conformity by very much the same means. The Puritans were persecuted and punished until they complained that they were as badly treated by the bishops as the Reformers had been by the Pope.

The Pilgrim Fathers.

Many of the early Puritans left England to find elsewhere freedom to live according to their own beliefs, and it was one party of these who made the settlement at Plymouth in 1620. They did not come directly to America from England, however, but from Holland. They had gone to Holland some few years before, and though they had been well received in Holland and had been permitted to live unmolested and to think as they pleased, they wanted nevertheless to establish a community of their own. They

found that their children were hard to control in Holland, that they were "getting the reins off their necks and departing from their parents," and they thought if they had a community altogether of their own and entirely under their own control, they might be able to bring their children up in the right and proper way and thus assure the continued existence of their community. It was because of these several wanderings in search of a home, from England to Holland, from Holland back to Plymouth in England, whence they set sail for Plymouth in America, that the colonists received their name of the Pilgrim Fathers.

The New England Spirit.

Such was the spirit in which the first New England settlement was begun, and such was the spirit in which it was continued when the Massachusetts Bay Colony was started a few years later. After the beginning was made, the Puritans came over in larger numbers, and it is the Puritans who gave its special character to the life of New England. Boston was founded in 1630, and soon other towns came into being, both along the New England shore and further inland.

Though much given to thinking about the future world, the Puritans were not forgetful of this world, and by industry they soon began to increase in riches. They also, like the Virginians, were mainly farmers, but they had no slaves, and therefore could not work large plantations. They became a body of small but independent landholders, a community in which one man was as good as his neighbor.

In all the New England communities schools were established very early, where the children were instructed in the necessary elements of reading, writing and arithmetic. The

first college in America was Harvard, founded in 1636, only sixteen years after the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth.

The Puritans also thrived in commerce and trade, and from Salem, Boston, Marblehead and other ports, their ships were soon sailing over the wide seas. In time manufacturing was added to their other interests, and countless mills and shops have increased greatly the wealth of New England. But religion, education and freedom of thought have never been neglected, and perhaps these also should be counted among New England occupations. Farming, seafaring, business, manufacturing—these are common and understandable activities everywhere, but New England brought other aspirations to America that are not so simple. She brought an interest in the life of the mind and the spirit without which no civilization, however rich or active it may be, can be regarded as complete.



BOOK III

THE UNITED STATES

IX

THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

VIRGINIA and Massachusetts Bay were the first English colonies to take form in America, but others soon followed. In New England several new colonies were established by bands of Puritans who went out from Massachusetts. One of these settled at Providence, and their colony later came to be known as Rhode Island.

The Founding of Rhode Island.

The leader of this band was Roger Williams, who had been a Puritan minister in Salem. Some of the opinions which Roger Williams held, however, were contrary to the approved opinions of the Puritan Church. For one thing, Roger Williams maintained that the government of England had no right to take the lands of the Indians away from them by force and give them to English colonists. He thought also that in religious matters all persons should be free, that everybody should not be compelled to attend the services of the Puritan Church, or required to pay taxes to the Church, as was the law of the Puritans.

These opinions of Roger Williams seem now very sensible and not at all startling. They are the opinions that now prevail in America. But the Puritans of Massachusetts thought differently. They insisted that every member of their community should conform to the practices of the Puritan Church and should actively assist in the sup-

port of the Church. It might be supposed that lovers of freedom, as the Puritans undoubtedly were, would be ready to grant freedom also to others. Some of them certainly were, since Roger Williams himself was a Puritan. Most of the Puritans of his day, however, did not think as he did, for Roger Williams was a little ahead of his time.

As the main body of the Puritans had not yet become accustomed to the notion that individuals should be allowed to think for themselves and act for themselves in matters of religion, they sentenced Roger Williams to be banished from their colony. In order to escape being carried back to England, he sought a refuge among the Indians, who received him kindly as one of their friends. Indeed it was the very *Canonicus* who had sent the rattlesnake's skin stuffed with arrows to Governor Bradford at Plymouth Colony who now came to the aid of the exile from the Puritan community. Roger Williams spent the winter of 1635-1636 with the Indians, but with the founding of Providence by Roger Williams and a few of his friends, the colony of Rhode Island was started as a settlement independent of Massachusetts.

The Connecticut Colony.

In the same year in which Roger Williams was banished, another band of Puritans departed from Massachusetts for the valley of the Connecticut river. They established a town at Hartford and several other towns in the river valley. They adopted certain laws and rules of government in 1639, and thenceforth were known as the Connecticut Colony. One of the rules of the Connecticut Colony was that citizens of the colony need not be members of the Puritan Church. All the offices of the colony but one were like-

wise open to persons who were not Puritans, the only exception being that the governor was required to be a member of the Puritan Church. This was much more liberal than the custom in the Massachusetts Colony, where only members of the Church could hold office or could even vote on the public affairs of the colony.

The New Haven Colony.

A second colony was established within what are now the limits of the State of Connecticut when in the year 1638, a group of Puritans came over from England and settled on Long Island Sound west of the Connecticut river. They called their colony New Haven, and they governed it in the strictest possible Puritan manner, only members of the Church being allowed any share in the government. Everybody was compelled to attend the Church, and elaborate penalties and punishments kept in force the severe rule of conduct of the community. The New Haven Colony continued until 1662, when it was united to the Connecticut Colony, the two together forming the later State of Connecticut.

Maine and New Hampshire.

Rhode Island and Connecticut were extensions of Massachusetts Bay Colony southward. Very soon after the settlement at Plymouth, however, settlements were made along the coast to the north and east. Some of these settlements were merely temporary fishing and trading stations, but gradually permanent towns and villages also grew up and from them sprang the colonies or provinces of Maine and New Hampshire. The administration of Maine and New Hampshire was for some years troubled

and changing. At various times both colonies were controlled by Massachusetts Bay Colony, but in the end New Hampshire secured a charter and government of its own.

The independent New England colonies of the colonial period of American history are therefore four in number, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, and these all became later the States of the United States which bear these names. The number of the New England States is now six, but Maine was made out of territory formerly included within the limits of the Massachusetts Colony, and the territory that went to the making of Vermont as a State had previously been claimed by New Hampshire and New York. Neither Maine nor Vermont is numbered among the original thirteen colonies by which the independence of the United States was won.

The Middle Atlantic Colonies.

Between the New England States and the Southern States of the United States lies a group of States known as the Middle States. These are New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland. Each of these States had its beginnings in an earlier English colony.

The fate of the Dutch colony of New Netherland has already been told in the chapter on the Netherlands in America. After the Dutch were defeated, the name of the colony was changed to New York and it became a colony of the British empire, with a governor appointed by the King of England to rule over it. New York City continued to be the chief city of the English, as New Amsterdam had been of the Dutch colony. New York drew many settlers from other parts of America to it, and of course many came directly from England. Perhaps the most striking charac-

teristic of New York in the colonial period was the mixed nature of its population. The colony was not a Puritan colony, though many people from New England migrated to New York. Religious opinions were not prominent in the organization of the colony, nor indeed theories of any kind.

William Penn and Pennsylvania.

The great State of Pennsylvania was first founded as a colony by an Englishman who sought to provide here a refuge for the members of the religious organization to which he belonged. This man was William Penn, and his religion was that of the Society of Friends, or Quakers. The Quakers carried to their logical conclusion several of the ideas of the Puritan Church. They believed in the utmost simplicity in the services of the Church, no candles, no stained-glass windows, no organs, no richly embroidered altar cloths or priestly garments. They believed also in absolute equality among men, maintaining that all men were equals in the sight of God and that they should therefore be equals in the sight of each other. In their Church they permitted neither bishops, priests, nor ministers of any kind, their conviction being that men could know the truth only by that "inner light" which God made to shine in every man's heart.

These views were all of them contrary to the doctrines of the Established Church, for if all men were equals in the eyes of God and of man, where then would be kings and lords and bishops? The Quakers were therefore persecuted in England, as the Puritans were. They were compelled to attend the services of the Established Church, or fined if they failed to do so. They could hold no offices in the State and take no part in the government.

To escape these hard conditions, Quakers began to emigrate from England to America. But even in America they were not welcome in all the colonies. The Puritans were almost as severe on the Quakers as the Established Church of England. They would permit only Puritans to have a part in their community, and they drove even the gentle Quakers from their midst. In Rhode Island, however, the more tolerant attitude of Roger Williams prevailed, and many Quakers settled in that colony. Others settled in Maryland, though Maryland was first established as a Roman Catholic colony, and also in North Carolina.

What William Penn wanted, however, was a colony in America in which the Quakers were not merely tolerated but were welcome. Through his influence at the king's court, he secured a grant of land in 1680, to which was given the name Pennsylvania. In 1682 Philadelphia, the city of brotherly love, was founded on the Delaware river. It was part of Penn's belief that the laws under which a people lived should be made by them and also enforced by them, and the government of the new colony was organized in this democratic way. After its organization, the Pennsylvania colony grew rapidly. Although it was settled by a Quaker and for Quakers, nevertheless the Quakers had no special rights and privileges. All peaceable persons, no matter what their religious opinion, were welcome to settle in Pennsylvania on equal terms. During the colonial period a great many Welsh came to Pennsylvania, and from the Continent of Europe came even larger numbers of Swedes, Dutch and, above all, Germans. These various groups settled side by side in a friendly fashion, and their colony soon ranked with Virginia and Massachusetts in numbers and in wealth. The manner of settlement of

Pennsylvania shows plainly enough that it is not necessary for all persons in a community to think exactly alike in order to live peacefully, usefully and happily together.

The Colony of New Jersey.

The region which later became the colony of New Jersey was at first part of the province of New York, that province including all the land between the Hudson and the Delaware. Shortly after the formation of the province of New York, the country between the Hudson and the Delaware was transferred to two proprietors, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, who proceeded to establish a colony under the name New Jersey. Many Quakers settled here, and of course there were a great many Dutch who remained after the English conquest of New Netherland. New Jersey as a colony was several times in danger of being swallowed up by her near and much larger neighbor, New York, but she managed to maintain her existence as a colony, and in consequence as a State of the United States.

The Colony of Delaware.

The settlement of the little State of Delaware, next to Rhode Island the smallest State in the United States, began early, but the first settlers were not English. They came from Sweden in 1638, led thither by a Dutch commander, the same Peter Minuit who had formerly been Governor, or Director-General, of New Netherland. These Swedish settlers called their colony New Sweden, and they built a fort which was named Fort Christina, after their queen.

Both the Dutch of New Netherland and the English of New England and Virginia viewed with disfavor the pros-

pect of a Swedish colony on the west shores of the Delaware. But in the face of many protests the Swedes went ahead and in a few years they had a substantial and well-defended little colony. In the days of Peter Stuyvesant, however, the Dutch of New Netherland decided to put a stop to these Swedish activities. In the summer of 1655 they sent ships and soldiers in such numbers that there was nothing for the little Swedish colony to do except surrender. New Sweden thus became a part of New Netherland, and some years later, when New Netherland in turn was conquered by the English and thus became New York, the former New Sweden became a part of New York. Then in 1682 William Penn bought this region from the Duke of York and united it to his own colony of Pennsylvania, calling it the Lower Counties of the Delaware. Twenty years later the Lower Counties were separated from the rest of Pennsylvania and formed into an independent colony under the name of Delaware. For such a little State, Delaware has had a varied history, and the people who settled the State, Swedes, Finns, Dutch and English, were a remarkable mixture.

Lord Baltimore and Maryland.

The remaining Middle States colony is Maryland, and this colony was begun with a settlement on Chesapeake Bay in 1634. It was named Maryland in honor of Henrietta Maria, the Queen of England. The founders of the colony were Sir George Calvert, also known as Lord Baltimore, and his son Cecil, whose interests in colonization were partly religious. Lord Baltimore was a Roman Catholic, and as the Roman Catholics were like the Puritans at least in the one respect of not accepting the rule of the

Established Church in England, they often found themselves as badly treated. It was Lord Baltimore's desire to found a colony in which Roman Catholics would be free, but he did not limit membership in his colony to Roman Catholics. Protestants also were welcome, and all settlers, whether they were Protestants or Catholics, were protected in their rights. The colony prospered, and the name of the founder is still preserved in the name of Baltimore, the chief city of the State of Maryland.

The Southern Colonies.

Turning now to the Southern colonies, we find that the first and most important of them was the colony of Virginia, the beginnings of which have already been described. The next two Southern colonies to be founded were North Carolina and South Carolina. A grant of these regions was made to certain proprietors by Charles II, King of England, in 1663, and the proprietors undertook to establish colonies for the carrying on of trade with England. A good many of the first settlers of North Carolina came over from Virginia, and thither came also Quakers, Puritans and many Protestant Germans. In South Carolina the chief city was Charleston, founded in 1670 by a group of settlers who came directly from England.

A great many French Protestants, known as Huguenots, came to settle in South Carolina after 1685, when the Edict of Nantes was revoked. This edict had granted protection and freedom of worship to Protestants in France, but in 1685 this toleration was withdrawn and the only permitted form of religion in France became the Roman Catholic. Not being able to remain peaceably in France, many Huguenots emigrated, and as Protestants were not

permitted to settle in New France, they turned naturally to the more liberal of the English colonies in America. In this way a very important and valuable element was added to the population of America.

The last and latest of the English colonies in America was Georgia. This colony was founded partly as a military front to protect the other colonies from the Spanish, who then owned all the Gulf regions, and partly also for much more pacific reasons. The founder was James Oglethorpe, an English army officer and member of Parliament. It was then the custom in England to put in prison those persons who could not pay their debts. As they could earn no money so long as they were shut up in prison, Oglethorpe's plan was to help these unfortunates to emigrate to America, where they could make a fresh start. The company which was organized to manage this undertaking was not permitted to take any profit, but all the affairs of the colony were conducted for the benefit of the persons who should join it. The chief town of this colony was Savannah, founded in 1733. Georgia shared in the increase of population which came to North and South Carolina, and though at first the colony had some peculiar features, in a few years it became like any other Southern colony.

The Thirteen Original Colonies.

These, then, were the thirteen original colonies founded by the English in America. In the New England group were Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and New Hampshire. In the Middle group were New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Delaware. In the Southern group were Virginia, North and South

Carolina and Georgia. What were the characteristics which these colonies had in common, and in what ways can we see in them the beginnings of the great nation that was built upon them as a foundation?

In the first place, the colonies were alike in that they were all children of the English mother country. They may not always have shown themselves to be docile or obedient children in their attitude toward their mother country, but nevertheless when the thoughts of the colonists in America turned to memories of their ancestral homes and customs, it was to Old England that they turned. They brought with them a common speech to America, a common stock of habits in their daily living, a common interest in the past of their race which must have made all the colonists feel, in spite of their many differences, that they belonged after all to one great nation. It is true that there were people of various other nations in the different colonies, Dutch, French, Germans, Swedes and Finns, but these foreign groups were in the minority and were always subject to the rule of the English colonists. They added many valuable elements to the life of the colonies, but in no one of them did they determine the character of that life.

The Colonists Were Pioneers.

In the second place, the colonists were alike in that they were obliged to face the same conditions. All of them came from a country in which a long civilization had made living safe and comfortable. They found themselves in America where everything was to be done, the very ground cleared of trees or stones before it could be cultivated.

They were all pioneers, forced to lead the rough life of pioneers, enduring the hardships of the present in the hope of an easier life in the future.

In circumstances like these the lazy and the proud soon found themselves at the end of their string. To live, one must work, even though the soil of the new country was prodigiously rich and seemingly unlimited in extent. Wild nature does not yield its riches merely for the asking. The colonists from the beginning put themselves to the task of taming a wide continent that hitherto had scarcely felt the hand of man upon it. So the colonists thrived in vigor, in manly courage and self-reliance.

Not only were the colonists brought face to face with an untamed natural world, but they were at first surrounded also by human enemies. The Indians were a constant danger, at times were a cruel and destructive force that threatened to end at its beginnings the white man's efforts to bring his civilization to the New World. The very life of the settler, of his wife and children, depended upon his cautiousness and upon his skill in meeting the Indian successfully on his own field of battle. The long French and Indian wars, the peril of conquest by the French which hung over each one of the colonies, drew the colonists together in a sense of common danger and the realization of the necessity of a common effort to preserve their own existence.

The Colonists Were Land-hungry.

The colonists were also alike in that most of them wanted to own land. They wanted to have broad acres of their own, to see their own fields flourishing with grain, their own cattle grazing upon their own meadows. And they

wanted these things not merely for food, clothing and shelter, but more because the possession of land would make them independent. A man who has land of his own, held by just and unbreakable title, can stand in the middle of his land and be his own master. This was what the colonists wanted. They wanted to escape from the dominion of lords and nobles and other great landed proprietors to a new country where they could own their own lands in peace and freedom. To attain this end they were willing to risk their lives on a dangerous voyage and to venture into a strange and hostile country. They were willing to undergo hardship and heavy labor. They were willing to wait for the increase of the years if in the end they could look the world in the face and say, "Here we are our own masters."

The Colonists Sought Liberty.

Economic freedom is a good thing, but spiritual freedom is better, and the colonists were to a great degree alike in this also, that they came to America to find freedom for their minds. They desired freedom of conscience. In spite of the differences of doctrine which characterize Puritans, Quakers and Roman Catholics, the motives which led the colonists of these several faiths to emigrate to America were much the same. The Roman Catholic as well as the Puritan, the Huguenot as well as the Quaker, came to America in search of that liberty to follow the dictates of his conscience which he could not find in the old country. Naturally each sought liberty first for himself, but the true lover of liberty also grants liberty, and in the American colonies people of the widest difference of opinion soon were living peaceably side by side.

The Colonies Become Self-governing.

Finally the colonies were all alike in that they were situated a long distance from the parent country and were compelled to undertake to a very great extent the experiment of governing themselves. The arm of the law cannot easily reach across the ocean; certainly it could less effectively do so when the American colonies were established than it might today.

The various colonies differed more or less in the details of their charters and systems of government. Some of them, like Pennsylvania, were almost completely independent, acknowledging only allegiance to the English throne. Others were ruled by governors sent out from England with large and autocratic powers. As one might expect, there were frequent clashes and differences of opinion between the representatives of the king's power in England and the representatives of the people's power in the colonies. It was necessary for the colonists to take charge of the administration of the smaller local affairs of their colonies. But once started on the paths of self-government, it was not easy for the colonists to tell where they should stop. From the circumstances in which they were placed, they thus became habituated to think about questions of government, to raise and debate points which might never have been brought to their attention if they had remained in the settled peace and quiet of their old homes in England.

The colonists in America were thus compelled to become experimenters in the difficult problems of the ordering of public life. From these experiments they learned wisdom which stood them in good stead when they turned to that still greater experiment at the end of the colonial period which took body and shape in the formation of the government of the United States.

X

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

ANY father who had thirteen sturdy, grown-up sons might count on having his hands full if he should try to tell them what to do and what not to do. Difficult under any circumstances, this task would be immensely more difficult if the sons had left the father when they were infants and had grown to strong manhood several thousand miles away, in surroundings about which the father knew little and cared less.

The thirteen American colonies were like the thirteen sons of such a father. Though weak and small in the beginning, the colonies grew in numbers and in strength, and as they grew stronger, their feeling of dependence on England became weaker.

England and Her Children.

But the very causes that made for the feeling of independence in the colonies excited in England the desire to exert completer control over them. For as the colonies grew richer, as they produced more furs, grain, tobacco, timber and other useful articles of commerce, they became to England more important as sources of commercial prosperity. If the colonies had remained poor and feeble, England might not have troubled about them. Being rich, and with the prospect of becoming much richer, they were worth retaining in close relations to the parent country.

In their manner of government, the colonies did not all bear the same relation to England. The chief executive officer, or governor, of some of the colonies was appointed by the king, and this governor stood in America for the interests of the king. Massachusetts, New York and Virginia, the three largest colonies, were governed in this way by a royal governor.

In several other of the colonies, the governor was appointed not by the king, but by the proprietor or proprietors of the colony. Pennsylvania was a colony of this kind. Still a third kind of colonial government was that in which the governor was elected by the votes of the citizens of the colony. There were only two colonies of this kind, however, among the thirteen, these two being Connecticut and Rhode Island. This democratic form of government in Connecticut and Rhode Island was not regarded with favor in England, because it put too much power in the hands of the colonists and made them too independent of England. The constant endeavor of England was to have all governors in the colonies directly responsible to the king and his council in England. If England had had her way, both the proprietary governors, as in Pennsylvania, and the democratic governors, as in Connecticut and Rhode Island, would have been replaced by royal governors. The people of the colonies, on the other hand, resisted as firmly as they could the efforts of the government in England to limit their control over their own local government. What the colonists wanted was more power, not less, their own governors, not royal governors.

Colonial Legislatures.

Besides the governors, the several colonies had their own

legislatures, which naturally sought to further and protect the interests of the colonies. As the members of the legislatures were chosen from among the colonists and by the colonists, their sympathies would lie on the American side of the Atlantic. It will readily be seen that in this situation there lay many opportunities for differences of opinion. The royal governors continually endeavored to restrict and hamper the activities of the legislatures, and in some instances tried to dispense with them altogether. But even a conscientious governor who tried to do his duty might easily find himself insisting on certain rights of the home government which seemed to the colonists destructive of their own rights. And unfortunately there were only too many governors who did not care in the least what the rights of the colonists were.

On the other hand, the legislatures continually tried to improve their position by securing independence in the methods of electing members to the legislature, by determining for themselves when and where the legislatures should meet, and by making themselves in all ways secure from interference on the part of the governors. The governor of each colony retained the power of veto over the acts of his colony's legislature. But the legislatures in turn had another source of power in that they voted the salary of the governor, or refused to vote it as they saw fit. A governor who acted in opposition to his legislature might thus find himself both unloved and moneyless. It was commonly said that a governor had two masters, one being the king who appointed him and the other being the colony which paid him. As the desires of these two were not always the same, the governor's path was often thorny.

Who Should Benefit from a Colony?

In the whole general matter of colonial government there was room for the widest difference of opinion. To the question, For whose benefit do the colonies exist? two contrary answers could be given and were given. The answer which the English government gave was that the colonies existed and should be administered primarily for the benefit of the parent country. The government at home regarded itself as owning the colonies. It had discovered them, settled them, supported and defended them in their infancy: why should not, then, the home government profit from the resources of the colonies?

This view of the relation of colonies to a mother country was not peculiar to England at that time. It was the common view held in Europe. Colonies were regarded as primarily for the benefit of the country which established them. The rights of the colonists as colonists were therefore limited, though a resident in a colony could still claim his rights as a citizen of the country to which the colony belonged.

The residents in the American colonies were not at first disposed to deny that a colony should exist primarily for the benefit of the parent country. They accepted this as the established opinion of the times—or at least they accepted this opinion theoretically. When it came to actual facts, however, the colonists were not so sure of the theory, if it should happen, as it often did, that what was a benefit to England was a hardship to them. Undoubtedly the happiest relations between a colony and a mother country would be such as resulted in equal benefit to both. But this could not always be the case, and when it was not, the

question must always come, Which one shall suffer? The colonists more and more came to the conclusion that the affairs of a numerous and industrious body of people, capable of supporting themselves, should be administered primarily for the benefit of the members of the community in which they lived, and should be free from interference on the part of any outside persons or governments.

The Navigation Laws.

Some of the definite causes of disagreement between the English and the Americans may be cited as illustrations of the growing hostility between them. One constant source of friction was the set of laws made in England known as the Navigation Laws. It was the principle of these laws that the colonies were to produce only raw materials, timber, ore, cotton, wool and other materials, which were to be sold only to the parent country, and in return the colonies were to buy back from the parent country manufactured articles, furniture, cloth, tools, utensils, stoves and all the other articles that the colonists needed. Manufacturing was therefore forbidden in the colonies, in order not to interfere with the English manufacturing at home. The colonists were not allowed to trade freely with other countries, but England placed all sorts of restrictions and duties on the commerce of the colonies, devised to bring income to the home government. The colonies were thus regarded as feeders for England, providing her with raw materials with which to work, and then as consumers, taking the surplus of manufactures which England did not need. Whether or not England provided the best market for them, that was the market to which the

colonists were required to go for their buying and selling.

Taxation without Representation.

Another source of disagreement was the determination of England to place a standing army in America and to raise the funds for the support of this army in part in America. The need of some efficient military force was apparent enough. The colonists needed it for their own protection. They were almost surrounded by the French, and there was every likelihood that the French would not hesitate to take all of America that they could lay their hands on. And if this army in America was for the purpose of defending the American colonies, there was every reason why the Americans should share in the support of it. What the Americans objected to was not the thing itself, but the fact that England attempted to raise the funds for the support of the army by taxing America. As the Americans could not vote for the members of Parliament who laid the taxes, this was taxation without representation.

The Stamp Act.

Dissatisfaction in America broke out violently on the passage by Parliament in 1765 of the Stamp Act. This was a kind of tax on all legal papers in America, such as bonds and leases, upon newspapers, bills of lading, playing cards and almanacs, for the purpose of raising money to help support the army. Immediately the whole country rose up in a fury of wrath against this act. The hostility of the Americans was not stirred by the amount of the tax, or by the purpose for which it was to be used, but by the



THE BOSTON TEA PARTY -1773-

fact that by the passing of this Stamp Act, England was interfering with the private and domestic affairs of the Americans. If internal revenue was to be raised in America by means of taxes, the Americans maintained that it was for their own legislatures, not for the English Parliament, to impose such taxes.

The opposition to the Stamp Act was so great that it was repealed the following year, but too late to avoid the harm that was done in America. The Americans now had a battle-cry, No Taxation without Representation. If they had no representatives in Parliament, as they did not have, they maintained that Parliament had no right to tax them, and that they would not pay any taxes which they themselves had not voted. The English lawyers tried to get round this by saying that a member of Parliament represented not only the district from which he was elected by the votes of the members of that district, but by virtue of his position as an officer of the government he represented the whole of Great Britain, colonies included, and that therefore the colonies really were represented in Parliament. But this argument was too thin to mislead the colonists. They knew that they had never had a right to vote for any member of Parliament, and therefore had no representatives in Parliament.

The Boston Tea Party.

Though the Stamp Act was repealed, new occasion for friction soon appeared. In 1767 the English Parliament determined to raise revenue in America by an import duty upon paper, tea, glass, lead and colors for use in paint. Immediately the storm broke loose again, for the colonists again maintained that Parliament had no right to levy such

taxes. In protest the colonists agreed not to use any of the taxable articles, and they sent petitions and addresses to England asking for the removal of the tax. In 1770 the tax on all articles was removed, except the tax on tea. The English Parliament had not given up the principle of its right to tax the colonies. In fact, when the Stamp Act had been repealed, Parliament had at the same time declared its right to make any laws whatsoever binding upon the colonies.

The tax on tea still remained, and England determined to make a test case of this. Cargoes of tea were sent over and offered at such a low price that, even including the tax, the tea would have been cheaper than before. But the colonists would have none of the tea with a tax on it. Some of the ships were sent back to England; at Charleston, South Carolina, the tea was stored in places where it spoiled, and at Boston about fifty citizens, disguised as Indians, went on board the ship, broke open the boxes of tea, and poured the contents into the waters of the harbor. This was the famous Boston Tea Party.

The First Continental Congress.

The destroying of the tea at Boston was open defiance of the British government and could not go unpunished. In retaliation it was ordered that no ships should trade at Boston until the destroyed tea was paid for, and other restrictive rulings were made. Everywhere throughout the colonies the greatest sympathy was felt for Boston and for Massachusetts, and as the result of these events the First Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia in 1774 to discuss the whole situation. There were fifty-five delegates in the Congress, and all the colonies were represented

except Georgia. It is significant to note that this was called a Continental, not a Colonial Congress. The colonists were thinking now in terms of the American continent, not in terms of British colonies. But the First Continental Congress had no thought of separation from England. The Congress definitely affirmed the loyalty of the colonies to the parent country, but it also asked for a redress of grievances and it passed resolutions in support of measures for the defense of the colonies.

Lexington and Concord.

On the 19th of April, 1775, an event happened which at once took these questions out of the field of debate and brought them on the field of battle. Certain British regiments had been quartered in Boston for some time, and their commander now led them towards Concord, about

eighteen miles from Boston, to destroy some war materials which the Massachusetts militia, known as the minutemen, had collected there. When they arrived at Lexington on the way, the British met with a small body of minutemen parading before the meeting house in the village. They opened fire upon them, killing



eight and wounding others. They then proceeded to Concord, destroyed the supplies, and started back for Boston.

But now the countryside was in arms. From behind trees, walls and fences a continual fire of bullets rained down upon the British ranks. In confusion and defeat the British forces fled along the road, fighting all the way, until they found themselves again safe within the defenses of Boston.

This was the first battle of the Revolutionary War. It was fought almost accidentally. The colonists were not prepared for it. They had no disciplined army, no leaders. But they won a victory, nevertheless, and this gave them courage to go ahead. They at once laid siege to Boston, and so the war was begun.

The Second Continental Congress.

In May, 1775, the Second Continental Congress met, and on June 15 of this year the Congress appointed Colonel George Washington of Virginia to be Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army. The Congress also took such measures as it could to provide the Commander with an army.

It is interesting to note that this Congress, in the midst of these warlike preparations, prepared and sent an address to George III, the King of England, in which the Congress declared that it was not the desire of the colonies to separate from England but only to secure relief from the unjust laws that had been passed. But the King refused to receive this message or the person who brought it, and instead he issued a proclamation declaring that his American subjects were rebels and should be punished accordingly. This harsh treatment on the part of the King fixed many wavering spirits in America who still hoped for a reconciliation between

England and America. It became more and more apparent that no such reconciliation was possible. The Americans then drove out the royal governors and each of the colonies took charge of its own government.

The Declaration of Independence.

Events now moved rapidly. On June 7, 1776, a motion was made in Congress by Richard Henry Lee of Virginia to the effect that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States." A committee was appointed to draw up a Declaration of Independence, the members of the committee being Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman and Robert Livingston. When the committee had finished its work, the Declaration was brought before Congress and adopted on July 4, 1776. So the independence of the colonies in America was declared, a bold and courageous thing to do, but the winning of this independence was a still greater task that now confronted the American people.

Battles of the Revolution.

In the meantime the fighting between the British and the Continental armies continued. The British were still shut up in Boston with the Continental forces besieging them. A battle, known as the Battle of Bunker Hill, was fought on June 17, 1775, and though the British won this battle, their losses were so heavy that the Americans regarded the battle as almost as good as a victory. Finally in March, almost a year after the siege was begun, the British gave up the attempt to hold Boston. They embarked their troops on ships and sailed away to Canada, leaving Boston once more in the hands of the Americans.

When the British soldiers left Boston, they took with them a number of citizens of Boston who did not approve of the American cause but who considered themselves still to be faithful subjects of the English king. Such persons were called Tories, and there were large numbers of them in all the colonies. At first all of the colonists were not in favor of the Declaration of Independence, and it took some time for everybody to become accustomed to the notion that the colonies might be independent of England. Those who could not accustom themselves to this idea soon found it uncomfortable to live surrounded by American patriots and so betook themselves to Canada or other British possessions.

Having failed to hold Boston, the next move of the British army was to attack New York and to gain possession of the Hudson river. The purpose of this movement was to separate the New England States from the other States so that neither would be able to help the other.

In this plan, the British were more successful. Washington's army was driven out of the city of New York and compelled to retreat. It fled northwest and across the Hudson to New Jersey. The British followed and endeavored to bring on a battle. But Washington knew that his army was too weak to oppose the British. He continued his retreat through Newark, New Brunswick and Princeton and finally crossed the Delaware at Trenton. Then, before the British army could cross the river, Washington turned and recrossed on Christmas night, 1776. In an engagement at Trenton he captured one thousand Hessian German troops hired by the British to fight for them. Washington then proceeded to Princeton, where he attacked and defeated a part of the main British army. After these two successful attacks, he withdrew to the hills of New Jersey, at Morris-

town. The British would not follow him there but led their army back to New York.

In this campaign Washington had shown that he possessed the qualities of a great general. The next best thing to winning a great victory is to conduct safely a great retreat. Washington had done this, and at Trenton and Princeton he had even turned the retreat into a partial victory.

The Americans were much encouraged by the victories at Trenton and Princeton, and also by a victory of the northern branch of the Continental army at Saratoga, New York, in October, 1777, by which the British in Canada were prevented from joining the British on the lower Hudson. Washington's army, however, in its next campaign suffered a series of defeats. A British army under General Howe had come up Chesapeake Bay and was preparing to attack Philadelphia. Washington led his army to the defense of Philadelphia. He met the British army at Brandywine Creek, but he lost the engagement that was fought here. He retired to Philadelphia and the British followed. Again Washington was compelled to retreat, giving up Philadelphia to the British. On October 4, 1777, another battle between the British and the Americans was fought at Germantown, near Philadelphia, and once more the American army was defeated. The British then occupied Philadelphia comfortably for the winter, and Washington and his army encamped at Valley Forge, on the Schuylkill river a few miles west of Philadelphia.

The Winter at Valley Forge.

It was a hard winter for the Americans at Valley Forge. Their army was small and badly equipped. They were de-

pressed by their recent defeats, and they were hungry, cold and miserable because the army was not properly supplied with the mere necessities of life.

The winter at Valley Forge, 1777-1778, was for the American cause the darkest period of the war. The gloom was somewhat relieved, however, by a treaty which was made in February, 1778, between the United States and France. This treaty was brought about largely through the efforts of Benjamin Franklin, who since September, 1776, had presented the American cause so skillfully that he had made it very popular in France. The French made generous loans of money to the American government, and a large number of Frenchmen, among them General Lafayette, joined the American army. The help of the French came at a time when it was sorely needed, and without their aid the result of the war might have been very different.

Campaigns of the Revolution.

The campaigns of the year 1778 and the three years following were carried on in several localities. There was fighting in the regions beyond the Alleghany mountains, and in these engagements the Americans strengthened their positions along the Ohio valley to the Mississippi. In the South, the British gained control of Georgia and South Carolina, but the fighting continued in these colonies for several years, and the hold of the British in these regions affected the general cause of the war very little. The Americans won victories at King's Mountain in October, 1780, at Cowpens in January, 1781, and at Guilford Court House in March, 1781.

In the meantime, in the North, the British found it neces-

sary to give up Philadelphia. They left the city in June, 1778, and proceeded to New York, which a division of the British army still held. The forces with Washington remained in the vicinity of New York keeping watch over the British stationed there. From this time on, however, this part of the British army played no important part in the war, being held practically in a state of siege in New York.

The Surrender of Lord Cornwallis.

The decisive campaign of the war took place in Virginia. The British army in Virginia was commanded by Lord Cornwallis, and the American army, which was not large, was commanded by General Lafayette. Washington at this time was stationed on the Hudson, still keeping guard over the British in New York. Leaving behind enough men to hold the American positions, Washington now put his army in motion in such a way as to lead the British to think he intended to attack New York. Instead he crossed New Jersey, passed through Philadelphia, and on to the Chesapeake Bay. Here he was joined by French reënforcements, and with the allied American armies he surrounded and besieged Lord Cornwallis and his army at Yorktown, on the James river in Virginia. A fleet of French warships was of the greatest assistance to Washington, for the fleet defended the entrance to Chesapeake Bay and prevented any British forces from coming to the relief of Lord Cornwallis. The siege lasted from September 28 to October 17, 1781, on which date the British army under Lord Cornwallis surrendered to the American army under General Washington.

The surrender of Lord Cornwallis ended the war for American independence. England almost at once sent re-

quests for peace. The terms of peace, among them being full recognition of the independence of the United States, were arranged at Paris, the final negotiations being completed when the treaty of peace was signed in 1783.

What the War Was for.

What the Americans had fought the War of the Revolution for was eloquently set forth before the Continental Congress in the Declaration of Independence. At the time when the Declaration was passed, it expressed a hope and a purpose, but now this hope had become an achievement.

The Declaration opens with a general statement of the equality of mankind, and of the right of all human beings to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." It then declares "that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

Then, after an acknowledgment of the advisability of not changing a government for "light and transient reasons," the Declaration proceeds to definite statement of the many ways in which the government of the King of England had failed in the colonies to answer the true purposes of government. "We, therefore," the Declaration concludes, "the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies,



CORNWALLIS SURRENDERS ~ 1781 ~

solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that, as Free and Independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which Independent States may of right do."

The Right to Govern.

It does not seem that there is anything in these general principles of the Declaration of Independence to which reasonable men could not agree everywhere, in England as well as America. The very thing that the Americans were doing, the English themselves had previously done several times—that is, they had overthrown a government because the government was deemed to be destructive of the principles of good government. The American principle of the right of the governed to have a voice in their government was not new. Englishmen had argued and fought for this principle for centuries, and most of them regarded it as one of their ancient and precious possessions. The harsh treatment of the American colonies came from a group of narrow-minded and obstinate statesmen, who happened at an unfortunate moment to be in power, not from the body of the English people. The quarrel was brought on by bad administrative methods, and it was not at bottom a struggle between two conflicting ideals of the English and American peoples. There can be little doubt that the American colonists in time would have won all they were contending for, even if they had remained in the British Empire. The citi-

zens of the British colonies in Canada, in Australia, in South Africa, are no less independent today than the citizens of the United States. But it may be also that they are thus independent only because the Americans by their revolt made clear the difference between a right way and a wrong way of governing colonies.

The unhappy experiences of the American colonies had shown that it is a very difficult thing for a royal father to govern satisfactorily thirteen strong, grown-up colonial sons at a distance of several thousand miles. The sons had in the end decided that it was not possible to do this satisfactorily at all, and they had thus put an end to their royal father's government. It remained now for these thirteen sturdy sons to prove that they could live in peace and harmony with each other, and that, having destroyed a bad government, they could devise and carry on a good government of their own. Having won their independence, it now rested with the new United States to show that they could properly use their independence.

XI

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

THE government of the United States has been called an experiment—a great experiment, but still an experiment. An experiment is some new plan which people try in order to see if it will work. But as the government of the United States has now been tried for one hundred and fifty years, and has worked, it may fairly be said to have passed out of the experimental stage into the stage of achievement.

When the government of the United States was young, however, the experimental side of it consisted in the fact that this was the first time in the history of the world that democratic government was to be tried on a large scale. Hitherto kings and emperors had ruled the large nations of the world. But the American colonists were through with kings and emperors. They would have none of them. What they wanted was a government of their own, a government by the people and for the people.

An Experiment in Democracy.

The notion of such a government was not altogether new. Democratic governments had existed several times before in different parts of the world, but always in a little country. Now the experiment was to be tried with thirteen large groups, spread over a continent. Almost any one of the thirteen colonies was large enough for a kingdom. Could

the citizens of these colonies work together peacefully and happily in a government made by themselves, conducted by themselves, and responsible only to themselves? That was the great experiment.

The founders of the government of the United States were not taking a step altogether in the dark in making their great experiment. In the long years since the settlement of America the colonists had had a good deal of experience in managing their own affairs. At first they were compelled to take the responsibility for many things because there was nothing else to do. They were far away from any authority at home, in new surroundings where new rules of living were to be worked out and where they themselves were the only persons who could understand the conditions which must determine their actions. They acquired thus the habit of thinking for themselves and of looking at public questions from their own point of view. A taste of this liberty led to the desire for more of it. By the close of the Revolution most of the colonists were not only ready to assume responsibility for their own government, but they were keenly eager to do so. They knew what kind of government they wanted and they had confidence that this government would work.

The Articles of Confederation.

The colonists had gained experience also through having tried one unsuccessful experiment in federal government. In 1777 the Congress had adopted what were known as Articles of Confederation between the several States. These Articles provided for a "firm league of friendship" among the States, but they provided for no strong national government. They did not permit the general government to lay

any taxes, they provided for no president or general executive officer, and though the Congress arranged for under these Articles of Confederation might pass laws, there was no authority in the confederated government to enforce these laws.

The function of this weak national government was to advise, not to command. The separate State governments were supposed to be the final seats of authority, and they reserved to themselves the right to accept or to reject the actions of the federal government. After this kind of government had been in operation for some years, it was seen that it would have to be changed for something better, for some government with more power and more organization, or give way to no national government at all, the separate States as distinct and independent nations following their own path. This path would certainly have led them to warfare among each other, perhaps to mutual destruction.

The Constitution of the United States.

In the light of these experiences, a new statement was made of principles for the government of the States. After it was adopted by the several States this statement became the Constitution of the United States. This Constitution is not a long document, but it is a very important one, and it remains to this day the foundation of the government of the United States.

The Constitution is a statement of principles. It describes the methods by which the machinery of government shall be run, but it leaves the details to be cared for by the several organizations of the government which are required by the Constitution. The most general principle underlying the Constitution for the government of the United States is

that this government shall be representative. This means that though the United States is governed by the people, it is not governed by the people directly. The people of the United States do not come together in one place and say that exactly this shall be done or that shall be done. Such a procedure would be impracticable. There are too many people for such a meeting, they live too far apart, and they are likely to be too busy to be able to attend meetings as often and for as long as would be necessary. To avoid these inconveniences, the work of government is done by representatives. The people choose certain persons to represent them, to stand in their places, and to do what they themselves would do if they could meet together for the purpose of carrying on the business of government. Since the people choose these representatives, the government is a government of the people. If the representatives refuse or neglect to do what the people wish, the people may decline to choose these representatives again and are at liberty to choose other representatives who will carry out more fully the wishes of the people.

Majority Rule.

Since it is not likely, however, that all the people will ever have exactly the same wishes, even with respect to the same matters, the representatives have to be chosen by the votes of the majority. In a representative government, the majority rules, at least in so far as the majority are able to elect the persons who carry on the government. It does not follow, however, that the majority either of the people or of the representatives will completely disregard the wishes of the minority. Governments, like individuals, must show ordinary human consideration and must endeavor

not to make any group suffer for the benefit of other groups. The spirit of representative government must be, Live and let live.

The Articles of the Constitution.

The Constitution consists of seven divisions, which are called Articles. The first Article of the Constitution provides for the lawmaking side of the government. All national laws of the United States, the Constitution declares, shall be made by Congress, and Congress shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives. Every member of the House of Representatives shall be elected for a term of two years, shall be at least twenty-five years old, a citizen of the United States for at least seven years, and an inhabitant of the State in which he is elected. The members of the House of Representatives shall be apportioned to the several States of the United States according to their population. A State with a large population will therefore have more representatives than one with a small population. The House of Representatives chooses its own Speaker, or presiding officer, and it has the sole power of impeachment. This means that if it should happen that any officer of the national government through unfaithful or improper performance of his duties ought to be removed from office, the charges against him can be brought only in the House of Representatives.

If these and later provisions of the Constitution are examined, it will be seen that the House of Representatives is the part of the government that stands closest to the people. The members are elected for only two years and can be quickly changed, the number of members is in proportion to the population of the country, and if extreme

dissatisfaction is felt with any officer of the government, the House can take action through its power of impeachment.

The Senate of the United States, according to the original terms of the Constitution, shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature of the State, not by the direct vote of the people, as in the case of Representatives. This rule was later changed by an amendment requiring Senators also to be elected by direct vote. Senators are chosen for a term of six years, and each Senator has one vote. Every Senator must be at least thirty years old, nine years a citizen of the United States, and an inhabitant of the State from which he is sent to the Senate at the time when he is chosen. The Vice-President of the United States is the presiding officer of the Senate, but without vote, except in case of a tie, when he casts the deciding vote. Though the House of Representatives has the sole power of originating all charges of impeachment, the Senate has the sole power to try all impeachments.

Taxes.

After some further regulations concerning the time and place of meeting of Congress and certain minor matters of procedure, the Constitution next makes the very important rule that "all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives." Every government needs money in order to conduct the affairs of the government. Money is needed to pay the salaries of officers, judges and others who do the work of the government. Money is needed for the support of the army, the navy and the whole system of defense of the country. Money is needed to develop the resources of the country, in carrying

on large projects which benefit the whole country and which are too burdensome for a single community to bear. These are only a few of the many things for which a government needs money.

But though there are many needs, there is only one way of getting money. The government can get money only by imposing taxes of some kind upon the people. The money paid in taxes is the revenue of the country. And according to the Constitution, every bill for raising national revenue, every bill to tax the people, must be proposed first in the House of Representatives. Neither the Senate, the President, nor any other branch of the government has the power to propose the laying of any tax. This power lies wholly with the House of Representatives, and by exercising this power the House of Representatives controls all the actions of the government. The government can do nothing without money, and it can secure money only through the action of the House of Representatives.

Making a Law.

The House of Representatives cannot, however, pass any bill, even a bill for raising revenue, by itself and thus make a law. Every bill must first be passed by both the House of Representatives and the Senate, and then afterwards be presented to the President. If he signs the bill, it then becomes a law. But he may refuse to sign it, and then he is said to veto it. The President may veto any bill he wishes, sending it back to Congress with a statement of his objections. But if the bill is again passed by both the House of Representatives and the Senate with a two-thirds vote of both Houses, it then becomes a law in spite of the President's veto.

The Constitution then states in some detail certain designated powers of the Congress, such as the power to coin money, to establish post offices and post roads, to declare war, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, and to do various other things which properly belong to the activities of a national government.

The concluding part of this first Article of the Constitution is taken up with regulations designed to enable the various States of the nation to work harmoniously together. Thus it is forbidden for any State to coin money, all the money in the United States being issued only by the general government and universally used in the whole country. Unless by permission of the Congress, no State is allowed to keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, to enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or to engage in war, unless the State is actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay. The provision that States shall not be permitted to keep troops was later removed, however, by an amendment recognizing the right of the States to maintain a militia even in time of peace.

The President of the United States.

The second Article of the Constitution defines the executive power of the national government of the United States. The chief executive officer is a President, to whom is joined a Vice-President. Both are to be elected for a term of four years in a manner which is designated by the Constitution. Only a natural-born citizen of the United States can be President, and he must be at least thirty-five years old and have been a resident in the United States for at least fourteen years. Before entering upon the duties of

his office, the President must take this pledge: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

According to the Constitution, the President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when the militia is called into the actual service of the United States. The President has power to make treaties, appoint ambassadors, consuls, ministers, judges of the Supreme Court, and other public officers, but these appointments must always be with the consent and approval of the Senate. The Constitution also provides that the President "shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." Carrying out this provision of the Constitution, the President delivers annually or more frequently messages to the Congress which serve also as messages to the American people.

It is the chief duty of the President to make certain the enforcement of the laws of the United States. To secure this end, he has the whole power of the national government behind him, including the army of the United States, if it is necessary to use it. The matter of obeying the laws of the United States is voluntary with no individual or no State in the United States. Obedience is necessary and compulsory, and the President is required by his oath and is able by his power to secure this obedience. In the powers granted to it by the Constitution the national government is supreme. Failure to obey the laws of the United States

is punishable, and making war against the national government of the United States or giving aid and comfort to those who do make war, is treason and is subject to penalty as the gravest of all national offenses.

The Supreme Court of the United States.

The third Article of the Constitution provides for the judicial side of the national government of the United States. The Congress represents the legislative side of the government, where the laws are made. The President represents the executive side, the obligation of which is to see to it that the laws are put into practice and obeyed. The third, or judicial, power of the national government of the United States, is concerned with the application of the laws of the United States to particular instances in which difference of opinion may arise. This power is assigned by the Constitution to one Supreme Court, and to such lower courts as Congress may establish. The questions which these courts are empowered to consider are questions of the interpretation of the Constitution, of the laws of the United States, and of treaties. The courts of the United States also extend to all controversies in which the United States is a party, to controversies between two or more States, between a State and citizens of another State, between citizens of different States, and to other cases which involve interests lying beyond a single State.

This Article also provides that the trial of all crimes against the United States shall be by jury, except in cases of impeachment, which are tried before the Senate, and it defines treason. "Treason against the United States," declares the Constitution, "shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them

aid and comfort." To Congress is granted the power of declaring the punishment for treason.

The States and Their Duties.

Article Four of the Constitution provides rules for the conduct of the States in their relations to each other. The public acts of any one State, unless they are declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, must be respected in every other State, and any citizen of the United States is free to participate in the rights of any particular State. A fugitive from justice who flees from the State in which he has committed a crime must be returned on demand to the State from which he has fled. A similar rule applied to persons "held to service or labor"—that is, slaves. If they escaped from one State to another, they must "be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

To Congress is granted the power of admitting new States into the Union and of controlling the territory or other property belonging to the United States. The last section of this Article provides that the United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government, shall protect each State against invasion, and on request, against violence within the State.

The fifth Article of the Constitution defines the methods by which amendments to the Constitution are to be made, the sixth establishes the Constitution as "the supreme law of the land," which all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support, "but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States."

The last Article of the Constitution provides that ratification by nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of the Constitution among the States so ratifying it. There were twelve States present in their representatives on September 17, 1787, the twelfth year of the independence of the United States, when the Constitution was accepted by the convention that framed it. Ratification by the special conventions of at least nine States was necessary, however, before the Constitution became the foundation for the government of the United States. The ninth State to ratify was New Hampshire, on June 21, 1788. Virginia, New York, North Carolina and Rhode Island then followed, thus bringing all of the thirteen colonies into the single government, into the Union of the United States.

Amendments to the Constitution.

The Constitution as thus framed by its makers and ratified by the States is remarkable for its brevity and simplicity. It does not seem that any person who can read should have difficulty in understanding it. And in the main the Constitution has stood unaltered in the century and a half during which it has been in existence. It did provide, however, for amendments to it, and in the course of time nineteen amendments have been proposed by Congress and have been ratified by the States in the manner which the Constitution provides. One might expect that the amendments would have been more numerous. In fact in the neighborhood of three hundred proposals were made in the first Congress for amendments, but of these only a dozen were passed. The people have always had a praiseworthy desire not to meddle with the Constitution unless the need for something to be changed or added was very great.

The first ten amendments, often spoken of as the Bill of Rights, have to do with assuring the citizens of the several States in the United States in their rights, the right of freedom in religion, the right of free speech, the right of free assembly, the right of a State to maintain a militia for its security, the right of the owner to permit quartering of soldiers in his house only on his consent, or in time of war, only in a manner prescribed by law, the right of the people not to be subject to unreasonable searches in their persons, houses, papers and effects, and various other rights in connection with the administration of the courts of justice of the United States.

The eleventh amendment provides for certain changes in the exercise of the judicial power of the United States, and the twelfth amendment makes some changes in the manner of electing the President. The thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments were made at the time of the Civil War and have to do with the freeing of the slaves and with assuring to former slaves their new liberties as citizens of the United States.

The sixteenth amendment gives Congress power to lay and collect taxes on incomes. The seventeenth amendment changes the manner of election of Senators by the legislatures of the several States to election by direct vote of the people. The eighteenth amendment, which went into effect on January 16, 1920, prohibits "the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from, the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes." And the nineteenth and last amendment, which went into effect on August 26, 1920, the woman suffrage amendment, provides that "the right

of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

The National Government and the State Governments.

When the Constitution was first brought before the American people for acceptance or rejection, the fear was frequently expressed that the national government provided for in it was too strong, and that the several States, which had grown from small colonies into rich and populous communities, would lose the independent character of which they were fond and proud. At first people feared that a strong national government might become tyrannical. To prevent any such result the Constitution expressly declares that all powers not definitely assigned to the national government remain with the State governments.

It will be observed that the Constitution does not declare specifically who shall be voters in the United States. It does require, by the fourteenth and the nineteenth amendments, that certain persons shall not be denied the right to vote, whether "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," or "on account of sex." But otherwise the Constitution does not fix the general conditions determining the right to vote. These conditions are established by the several States, and citizens cast their votes as members of States, not directly as citizens of the United States. No national officer is voted for directly, not even the President of the United States. In voting for President, each State votes for a certain number of electors, who then in combination with the electors from all the other States cast the final votes for President. Voting thus is a right the definition of which remains with the States.

The States also have the right of organizing and carrying on their separate State governments in all ways which do not interfere with the successful operation of the national government. The States elect their own legislatures, establish their own courts, lay such taxes for State uses as they think best, look out for the prosperity and special interests of the States, and in all ways not prohibited by the Constitution, regulate their internal affairs.

National Government and Local Government.

Besides the government of the States, there are other governmental activities still more directly under the control of the people. Most citizens carry on their daily lives without ever feeling the arm of the national law. The laws that they feel most directly are the laws of their own town or county, and these laws are made by persons whom they have directly chosen and whom they in many instances may personally know.

A citizen who is interested in good government cannot therefore confine himself to questions of national government. There are many issues that lie nearer his home and daily life upon which he must exercise his civic virtues. On the other hand, a citizen interested in good government will not evade or neglect national issues. In the end the national government is as much in the hands of the people as is the government of a country village. It does not respond as quickly to popular opinion, but the government of the United States, from the village to the whole wide continent between the Atlantic and the Pacific, is a government by the people, and a government for the people in just such degree as the people themselves make it so.

XII

GEORGE WASHINGTON

THE Revolution gave to the American people two great gifts. One was national independence, and the other was a national hero. This hero was George Washington.

The Character of Washington.

When we speak of George Washington as a national hero, however, we must think of him as a hero not of the ancient but of the modern world. He was not a knight on horseback, not a St. George fighting terrible but vague dragons. On the contrary, he was a man who lived the ordinary life of men, attending to his duties day by day just as other men must do. He was different, however, in that he did what other men would have been glad to do but could not do. This is what made him a leader. Men saw in him what they themselves would like to be.

The character of George Washington cannot be summed up in a few brief words or phrases. His was in many ways a simple character, but the simplicity of greatness is a very different thing from the simplicity that has nothing back of it. Washington was not merely a soldier, not merely a statesman. He was both of these, but he was more. He was a good man of business, he was a successful farmer, he was a skilled surveyor and experienced woodsman, he was an affectionate head of a family, a considerate friend and neighbor, a lover of cheerful living and

all manly sports, and always, whatever he was, a dignified and courteous gentleman. He was not trained for a single calling, nor did he limit himself to a single occupation. He held himself free and open to do what the occasion required.

In this ability to meet the need of the moment, without hesitation, without confusion or bluster, Washington realized a common aspiration of the American people. Americans do not like to think of themselves as settled by circumstances in fixed classes or activities. They like to think of themselves as the masters of circumstances, free to direct their efforts as they think best. Washington was such a man. He did many different things and did them all well because he faced each new responsibility squarely and courageously as he came before it.

The Washingtons in Virginia.

Washington was a Virginian, as all the members of his family had been since the time when the first Washington arrived in America. The first Washington was George Washington's great-grandfather, John Washington, and he came to Virginia from England in 1657. But though John Washington was the first American Washington, in England the family was old and well established. The members of the family seem to have been loyal supporters of church and king, but at the particular time when John Washington came to America, the supporters of the church and the king were not having a happy time of it. The Puritans were in power, and with Oliver Cromwell as their leader, they changed the kingdom of England into a Puritan commonwealth. During this period of Puritan supremacy, a good many loyalists left England and came to

America. Naturally they did not come to Puritan New England in America, but to Virginia, which was not a Puritan community and which remained loyal to the king during the Puritan upheaval.

Having arrived in America, John Washington turned to the usual business of gentlemen of rank and ambition who came to Virginia. He settled on a plantation and began to raise tobacco. This was the chief occupation of all the Washingtons down to the time of George Washington. As it was a profitable occupation, the family increased in dignity and in riches.

George Washington's father had seven children, of whom Washington was the third. He was born on February 22, 1732, at his father's house on the bank of the Potomac river. But when Washington was eleven years old, his father died, and after that Washington lived with his mother or with his older brothers until he had a home of his own.

Washington's School Days.

Washington's father had been sent to Appleby School in England for his education, and to this same school Washington's two older brothers in their turn had also been sent. It was not an uncommon custom for well-to-do Virginians in those days to send their sons back to England to be educated. The death of his father was probably the reason why Washington in this respect did not receive the same advantages as his two older brothers. Whatever the reason, Washington did not go to England as a schoolboy, nor did he ever later visit England. He never crossed the Atlantic, and except for a voyage to the West Indies, he never left America. His whole life was spent in America

and all the education he received was such as could be had in the Virginia of his day.

From his earlier masters, Washington learned the simple elements of reading, writing and arithmetic. As his school-days were over when he was about fifteen, Washington did not have an opportunity in these early years of perfecting himself even in the elementary parts of an education. His spelling was always irregular and his grammar often dubious. In arithmetic, however, he did better, for he apparently realized that he must know something about figures and bookkeeping when he should have the business of his own plantation to run.

The classics of the ancient languages, Latin and Greek, these all were sealed books to Washington. He may have studied some Latin, but never enough to secure command of the language. In fact, Washington never acquired any other language besides his native tongue, not even French. He was not, in the narrower sense of the word, a highly educated man. He was not learned, whether in letters, philosophy, or science. His accomplishments indeed were not the result of training in schools. But Washington never made the mistake of regarding these defects in his education as virtues. He always regretted that he had not had ampler opportunities for study, and by his own efforts he continually sought to supply the gaps left by the lack of more formal instruction.

Frontier Surveying.

In the latter part of his school-days, Washington became greatly interested in surveying. Virginia at that time was a country of large estates, the boundaries of which were not always clearly defined. There was, moreover, much new

land continually being brought under cultivation which required to be surveyed. A prospective landowner like Washington could not fail to be interested in so necessary and practical an activity as surveying. He therefore studied algebra and trigonometry and soon became a capable master of the art.

It was characteristic of Washington, even as a boy, that when he saw something to be done, he went to work patiently and conscientiously to secure command of all the necessary details. Washington always worked carefully and methodically. On his plantation he kept an exact account from day to day of the whole business of the plantation. As a soldier also he always made his plans on a basis of certain information. When Washington spoke, which was but seldom, for he was rather a silent man, his contemporaries had confidence in him because they knew that he never spoke hastily or without a solid foundation of knowledge.

In the Backwoods.

As a result of his interest in surveying, Washington made his first step from the school into the practical world. Near Mount Vernon on the Potomac, where Washington was living with his brother Lawrence, lay a large estate owned by Lord Fairfax. Lawrence Washington had married Anne Fairfax, a girl of this family, and Washington himself was a frequent visitor at Belvoir, the luxurious home of the Fairfaxes. The estates of Lord Fairfax were very large, about one-fifth of the present State of Virginia, and much of this land had never been surveyed. Washington was commissioned to this task, and in March, 1748, when Washington was just one month over sixteen years old, he set out with one of the Fairfaxes on this undertaking.

The regions which were to be surveyed were then on the frontier, and Washington soon found himself leading the rough, self-reliant life of the woodsman and pioneer. This was the beginning of a kind of experience that Washington was to know frequently later, and from it he learned much that he could never have learned in schools. He learned to think and act for himself, and always to use the means at hand, however inadequate they might seem to be, to attain his ends. This first task of surveying the lands of Lord Fairfax occupied only a few weeks, but after that Washington was made a public surveyor, and for three years, from the age of sixteen to the age of nineteen, a large part of his time was taken up with making surveys for various persons in Virginia.

Washington in the French Wars.

At the age of nineteen, Washington's military career began. The great question which at that time disturbed, not only Virginia, but the other colonies in America as well, was the question of French power in America. The English colonists viewed with alarm the lengthening chain of forts which the French were establishing from Quebec to New Orleans. They could see that the time must come when French and English interests in America would clash. The Virginians especially were beginning to look beyond the Alleghany mountains to the rich valley of the Ohio. While Washington was working as a surveyor, a group of Virginians, among whom was Washington's brother Lawrence, had organized a company, known as the Ohio Company, which had a grant of five hundred thousand acres of land along the Ohio river, in regions which they feared the French would soon be claiming.

These were some of the reasons why the Virginians were beginning to think seriously about military matters. The colony was divided into four military districts, and each district was under the charge of an adjutant-general. Washington was made one of these adjutant-generals in 1751, with a salary of one hundred pounds a year. The duties of the adjutant-general were to raise, equip and drill militia for service when it should be needed.

Washington's first serious military service came in 1753. At that time disquieting rumors came that the French were pressing into the very regions claimed by the Ohio Company, and Washington was sent to inquire of the French what their purposes were and also to observe what measures of defense the French were undertaking. This meant a hard journey all the way from Virginia to the headwaters of the Ohio, where the city of Pittsburgh now stands. The journey was made in winter, with only such food and shelter as could be carried on a rapid march through practically unbroken forests. To the discomforts of travel under such conditions was added also danger from hostile Indians. It was a serious undertaking for a youth of twenty-one, but Washington accomplished his mission successfully. He found that the French had really established a fort on the Alleghany river and meant to lay claim to the whole region.

First Defeat.

When Washington had made his report, the House of Burgesses immediately determined to send a military force to act against the French. At the head of the troops thus raised was placed Colonel Fry, and Washington accompanied the expedition with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

The French were not unprepared for the attack. They were in fact better prepared and greater in numbers than the Virginians. The result was a bitter defeat for the Virginia troops. Colonel Fry died on the field, and Washington, now chief in command, was compelled to surrender. By the terms of surrender the Virginians were allowed to return home, but they were required to promise not to try to build any more forts beyond the mountains for a year.

Washington felt this defeat keenly, but it made him realize as nothing else could have done the necessity of ample preparation before venturing into battle. He discouraged further action by the Virginia militia for the present. The soldiers were all volunteers, not well trained and not well equipped or supplied. The French, on the other hand, were professional soldiers who were not only well trained but who had many allies among the Indians, and who also themselves knew a great deal about the special conditions of fighting in a wilderness.

Braddock's Defeat.

The next move against the French at their fort, called Fort Duquesne, was not made by the volunteer militia of Virginia, but by regular troops from the English army. In February, 1755, General Braddock arrived in Virginia with two regiments of regulars. Great preparations were made for General Braddock's expedition. Here were some of the best troops in the English army, well uniformed, well drilled, well armed, and led by a general of wide experience. How could the French expect to stand up against such an opponent? Many Virginians joined Braddock's army, and Washington also, when he was invited

to accompany the expedition as Braddock's aide-de-camp, was glad to do so.

The expedition started well. The army made a fine appearance, and its supplies of guns, ammunition and other materials were abundant. In fact they were too abundant, for the labor of transporting these supplies through a rough and untraveled country made the progress of the army very slow. Moreover, General Braddock had no notion of managing his campaign differently from the way in which he had been accustomed to managing campaigns on the fields of battle in Europe. He did not take into account that he was fighting Indians in a wilderness. Even when they drew near to Fort Duquesne, the English troops were marched along in mass formation, as if on dress parade. They afforded a beautiful mark for an enemy in ambush, and Washington earnestly warned General Braddock of the danger of his position.

That the warning was needed soon became apparent. For suddenly from the woods rang Indian yells, and a rain of bullets fell upon the English troops. They fired back bravely, but their enemy was hidden among the bushes and behind trees. The English were bewildered by this manner of fighting. They were not used to fighting an unseen enemy. General Braddock insisted on keeping his men in line, and the French and the Indians from their hiding places shot them down at their ease.

Realizing after some time that the battle was lost, Braddock ordered a retreat. But he was not destined to lead his defeated army to safety. A bullet struck him and he fell from his horse, mortally wounded. Four bullet holes through his coat showed how narrowly Washington had

escaped with his life. Twice during the battle his horse was shot from under him.

It was but a sorry remnant of the brilliant army that came back to Virginia. For a second time the French had victoriously defended their fort on the Ohio. As for Washington, he had now seen some of the best troops of the British army in action, and he had seen them defeated because of the stiff-necked determination of their general to fight in his old way when the circumstances called for a new way.

The Fighting at Fort Duquesne.

The fate of Braddock's army was one of the most terrible in the history of Indian warfare. A young American who was a prisoner in Fort Duquesne at the time described the manner of the fighting. The Indians, he declared, spied upon the British every day, and one of the Indians "shewed me by making marks on the ground with a stick, that Braddock's army was advancing in very close order, and that the Indians would surround them, take trees, and (as he expressed it) *shoot um down all one pigeon.*" The 9th of July, 1755, the day of the battle, was an anxious time for this prisoner. He saw the Indians leave Fort Duquesne with guns, powder, bullets and all supplies. "I was then in high hopes," he says, "that I would soon see them flying before the British troops, and that General Braddock would take the fort and rescue me." But his hopes were not to be realized. In the afternoon the Indians came back with shouts and yells, and every Indian carried bloody scalps. "About sun down I beheld a small party coming in with about a dozen prisoners, stripped naked,

with their hands tied behind their backs, and their faces and part of their bodies blacked—these prisoners they burned to death on the bank of Alegheny River opposite to the fort. I stood on the fort wall until I beheld them begin to burn one of these men, they had him tied to a stake and kept touching him with fire-brands, red-hot irons, etc., and he screaming in a most doleful manner,—the Indians in the mean time yelling like infernal spirits. As this scene appeared too shocking for me to behold, I retired to my lodging both sore and sorry.” “From the best information I could receive,” adds this writer, “there were only seven Indians and four French killed in this battle, and five hundred British lay dead in the field; besides what were killed in the river on their retreat.”¹

A New Army.

Braddock's defeat left the American colonists more fearful than ever of what the French might do. With the help of their Indian allies, the French had won a victory at Fort Duquesne over the highly trained troops of the British army, and they would be therefore all the more encouraged in the belief that they could hold their own against the rough, undisciplined volunteers of the colonies. But the colonies nevertheless set to work to build up some system of defense. Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Virginia, and at once he began the hard task of making an army. He had first to induce the men to enlist in the army, then to drill them and teach them how to obey orders. For the independent frontiers-

¹ From *An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Col. James Smith during His Captivity with the Indians in the Years 1755, '56, '57, '58 and '59*, reprinted in "Ohio Valley Historical Series," Number 5.

men of that day, these last were not easy things to learn. Virginians were accustomed to going their own way, without leave or let from anyone. Then, besides, Washington had to attend to the organization and distribution of supplies, smooth out the jealousies of persons who thought they were not given the offices they ought to have, and finally see to it that the House of Burgesses provided enough money to keep the army going. All this was excellent preparation for a future general, and when one remembers that Washington was only twenty-three years old when he became commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces, the wonder does not grow less that he really did make an army.

Fort Duquesne Becomes Fort Pitt.

After three years of drilling and preparation, the time seemed ripe for another expedition against Fort Duquesne. Regular troops from the British army were brought to Virginia under the command of General Forbes. As regular army officers were the superiors of colonial officers, General Forbes was the commanding officer of the expedition. Washington accompanied as head of a regiment of Virginians and as commander-in-chief of the Virginia troops. The two branches of the army, the British regulars and the colonial volunteers, worked well together, for Washington knew how to take orders as well as give them. The campaign now was conducted in a very different way from Braddock's campaign. Instead of being weighted down with elaborate uniforms and equipment, the men traveled as light as Indians, for the British regulars were now ready to learn from the colonists the proper way of fighting in the wilderness.

The expedition set out with every prospect of success.

But success came much easier than anybody expected. For when the army reached Fort Duquesne, it was found that the French had departed, had burned their fort, and evidently given up any intention of holding that region. The English took possession and built a new fort at the same place. They named it Fort Pitt, after William Pitt, then prime minister of England, who was very popular in the colonies because he was in sympathy with the desire of the colonists to have a larger share in the government of themselves. In later years Fort Pitt became the city of Pittsburgh.

So ended the conflict between France and England so far as Virginia was concerned. The final stages of this conflict came a few years later, not on the Ohio, but in Canada, when French rule in America came to an end with the fall of Quebec and Montreal.

At Mount Vernon.

The campaign beyond the Alleghanies now ended, Washington returned to Mount Vernon and settled down to the serious business of attending to his plantation. Mount Vernon now belonged to him, his brother Lawrence having died, and likewise the only child of Lawrence. On January 6, 1759, Washington was married to Martha Custis, who had been previously married but whose husband had died, leaving her two little children, Jacky and Patsy, and a large fortune. Washington never had any children of his own, but he grew very fond of these two children who were brought to him on his marriage with Martha Custis.

The marriage with Martha Custis also increased largely Washington's income, for now her estates and fortune

were added to his own. But if Washington's wealth was increased, so also was his responsibility. He now had some thousands of acres of land under his direction, and though much land may make one rich, it may also make one poor. Unless land is properly managed, unless it is tilled or developed in such a way as to make best use of its fertility, it becomes not a source of income but a burden. Business ability is required to conduct large estates successfully, and it is as easy to fail in this kind of business as in any other. The account books which Washington kept and other records of his transactions show that Washington ran his plantations patiently, methodically and practically. He was personally much interested in all matters pertaining to agriculture and to the raising of horses and cattle. His efforts brought their reward, for his plantations overflowed with abundance.

In the House of Burgesses.

In 1758 Washington was elected to the House of Burgesses and thus began his career as a public officer. The story is told that on his first appearance as a member, the Speaker of the House made a speech of thanks in behalf of the House and in recognition of Washington's military services. When it came Washington's turn to respond, he arose, blushed, stammered, but was too embarrassed to speak a plain word. The House took this to be the best kind of answer a soldier could make, and the Speaker told Washington to sit down, adding that his modesty was as great as his valor. In all his public life, Washington was not a ready orator. When the occasion demanded it, he could speak clearly and forcibly, but he made no preten-

sions to eloquence. He spoke when he had something to say, not to show that he was master of the art of speechifying.

Washington continued to sit in the House of Burgesses year after year, always an interested, active and helpful member. When the First Continental Congress met in 1774, Washington was sent as one of the delegates from Virginia. From that time on, his public services as a citizen of Virginia were merged into his greater services as Father of the American republic.

In the Continental Congress.

When the First Continental Congress was held, the elements of Washington's character were all well tried and well known to his fellow colonists. He had been in difficult positions and had shown his ability to judge and reason soundly as well as to command and control. He knew the practical world of affairs, he had had wide experience as a soldier under the conditions a soldier must meet in America, and as a legislator he had accustomed himself to think broadly on all questions of human government.

As a young man, Washington was a faithful and loyal supporter of the British king. This was the tradition of his family and of his community. But Washington, above all, was a Virginian. His whole life centered in Virginia. He saw about him hundreds and thousands of other persons whose life centered in Virginia. He came in time to see that the well-being and happiness of all these people were the matters of first importance to them. When England interfered with this well-being and this happiness, he became convinced that England was in the wrong. He believed that Virginia should be governed for the welfare

of Virginia, not of England. From this it was but a step to the notion of the independence of Virginia and the union of all the American colonies into a government of their own.

Commander-in-Chief of the American Army.

The later life of Washington is the story of his distinguished public services. When the Second Continental Congress met in 1775, Washington was elected commander-in-chief of the army which the Americans hoped to raise to defend their claims for liberty. What Washington did twenty-five years before in Virginia, he now repeated on a larger scale for the budding nation. He made an army. He encouraged enlistment, maintained drill and discipline, and turned his rough recruits into an effective fighting force.

On Washington's shoulders rested the responsibility for planning and carrying through campaigns of much greater extent than the Virginia campaigns of his youth. There were jealousies and dissatisfactions likewise to be appeased. The several colonies had been accustomed to think each one for itself alone. The feeling for unity was not yet highly developed, and Massachusetts not having the same interests as Virginia, or Virginia the same as Massachusetts, the colonies did not always work harmoniously together. It took time for them to realize that nothing was to the interest of any one colony which was not to the interest of the colonies as a whole.

Even the most courageous spirit might well have hesitated at the thought of directing all the scattered and unformed impulses of the colonies toward a successful ending of the struggle in which they were engaged. But Washington's powers had grown with the passing of the

years. They were now indeed at their height. Experienced, patient, untiring in the performance of his duties, wise in the ways of the world, Washington more than any other single person was responsible for the winning of the American war of independence.

The First President.

After the war was over and the thirteen colonies had joined together in the formation of the United States, it was natural that Washington should be elected the first President of the new republic. Washington had been chairman of the convention in 1787 at which the Constitution of the United States had been adopted, and under this Constitution he took the oath of office as first President of the United States on April 30, 1789.

In his capacity as President, Washington showed the qualities of firmness, good judgment, patience and fairness which men had learned to expect in him. The American ship of state in the first years of its existence did not have altogether smooth sailing. The country was heavily in debt and it still had much to learn in the way of governing itself. Washington performed a service of inestimable value in providing in his character a sort of center, or heart, in which the several States, with all their conflicting jealousies and interests, could feel their own hearts beating in essential agreement.

In his outward manner as President, Washington conducted himself with his usual dignity and seriousness, and also with more ceremony than has been customary in the later days of the republic. A person who called on him when he was President spoke of him as dressed in purple satin, and at his public receptions he was described as "clad

in black velvet; his hair in full dress, powdered and gathered behind in a large silk bag; yellow gloves on his hands; holding a cocked hat with a cockade in it, and the edges adorned with a black feather about an inch deep. He wore knee and shoe buckles; and a long sword, with a finely wrought and polished steel hilt, which appeared at the left hip; the coat worn over the sword, so that the hilt, and the part below the coat behind, were in view. The scabbard was white polished leather." Simplicity in dress came with later Presidents, but Washington no doubt felt that the pomp of the princely courts of Europe made an elaborate dress necessary in the chief officer of a nation, even a republican nation.

According to a rule contained in the Constitution, the length of a President's term of office was to be four years. At the close of his first four years, Washington was elected to a second term of four years. He refused to be a candidate for election a third time, setting thus an example which no later President has disregarded. He made his Farewell Address to the American people on September 17, 1796, and then retired to that peaceful life at Mount Vernon which he had often thought of with longing during the many troubled years of his public service. He was to enjoy this life for only a brief time, however, for he died on December 14, 1799, in his sixty-seventh year and after only a few days of illness.

The Greatness of Washington.

By the common consent of historians, George Washington is counted among the few of the world's greatest leaders. For such a leader to appear, an unusual opportunity and an unusual personality must come into combination.

For George Washington the unusual opportunity arrived with the determination of the American colonists to claim their independence and to fight for it. The American Revolution was one of the great turning points in the civilization of the world. It raised and it finally answered the question whether governments exist for the benefit of the governed and by their power, or for the benefit and by the power of conquerors and rulers. The War of Independence justified the right of citizens to determine for themselves the conditions under which they were to live, not merely citizens of the United States, but citizens anywhere in the world.

A great opportunity, however, will not of itself make a great leader. A great cause will not even win merely because it is good and right. To become effective a good cause must have strong leadership. It was fortunate for the cause of American independence, and for the cause of freedom in the world, that in the personality of George Washington a great leader appeared at the right time.

What made Washington great was not any single outstanding gift, but the combination of many abilities and virtues to form a lofty and well-balanced character. It was greatness of character that made Washington a leader. Men had faith in him. They knew that he was unselfish, that he loved the cause of liberty, that he would do wrong to no man, that his heart was honest and sincere. They knew that he was moved by no desires of personal ambition, but strove only to serve his country. With these virtues were combined others of a more practical kind which made men confident that Washington could carry out what he planned. He was patient and restrained, not easily discouraged, always ready to do the best that could be

done with such materials as were to be had, and in his personal relations with other men, always courteous, kind and reasonable.

The feeling which Washington aroused in the hearts of his fellow soldiers and fellow citizens was one of affectionate confidence and reverence. This was true even in the doubtful and troubled days of the Revolution. The American Revolutionists saw in Washington a realization of the hopes that they had for their country. As the years have passed, this feeling has not changed, except to grow stronger. Washington remains a great leader, and Americans can still think gratefully of him as an American citizen first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen.

BOOK IV

EXPANSION AND GROWTH

XIII

WEST OF THE ALLEGHANIES

EVERY one of the thirteen original colonies which later became the United States had a seaport on the Atlantic Ocean. It was possible to sail from any one of the colonies directly back to England, and each colony had its own wharves and docks from which it shipped its own products and at which it received the goods the Old World sent in exchange. The early colonists were in the habit of looking not to each other for support and comfort, but back to Old England. They would have felt lonesome and deserted if they had been cut off from their European connections. To them, America was not sufficient for Americans.

Early Migrations.

For over one hundred and fifty years the American colonists clung to the Atlantic seaboard. During this time, there was a good deal of migration among the colonies, but it followed lines north and south and did not move far westward. From Massachusetts went out very early the colonies that founded Rhode Island and Connecticut. Many New Englanders migrated still further south, into New York, New Jersey, and as far as North and South Carolina. They moved northward also into Maine and New Hampshire. From the very beginning the New England colonies have been a center from which waves of migration have

spread, at last reaching in widening circles to the very limits of the American continent.

There was another reason, however, besides their desire to stay near the seacoast, which kept the early colonists from penetrating far inland. This was the barrier of the Alleghany mountains. To the Americans of today the mountains do not seem much of a hindrance. Swift railroad trains pass over the mountains almost as easily as on level land. And indeed, compared with the mountains of the Far West, the Alleghanies are not very high. In the days when there were no trains, however, and no wagon roads either, the Alleghany mountains presented considerable difficulties. If there had been a navigable river flowing through them the colonists would quickly have passed westward. But there is no such river, and the only way the colonists could conquer these mountains was by toilsome and dangerous traveling on horseback and on foot.

The Movement Westward.

After the capture of Quebec in 1759 and the consequent destruction of the French empire in America, the colonists began to think more seriously about the possibilities of expansion westward. When George Washington was a young man, this was a topic of general conversation and interest. Washington's first experience as a soldier was gained in expeditions made to prevent the French from adding all the fertile lands west of the Alleghanies to their American empire, and Washington himself was financially interested in a company formed at this time to explore and colonize the lands in the valley of the Ohio river.

The first extensive movement westward did not begin in the Ohio valley, however, but a little further south. It fol-

lowed the course of the Holsten river and its tributaries into regions that are now parts of the States of Tennessee and Kentucky.

Hardy pioneers from North Carolina, Virginia and Pennsylvania as early as 1770 began bringing their wives, children and household goods into this unbroken wilderness. They were led on by the prospect of an abundance of good land to be had for little or nothing, and by the glowing reports brought back by trappers and hunters of the unbelievable abundance of game and fertility of soil of this new country.

The Adventures of Daniel Boone.

One of these hunters was the famous Daniel Boone. The father of Daniel Boone had migrated in 1750 from Pennsylvania with his wife and their eleven children to the wilderness region of western North Carolina. But there lay further wildernesses beyond and into these new hunter's paradises the Boones were soon pressing.

When Daniel Boone first explored eastern Tennessee and Kentucky, the buffalo still roamed there in great numbers. At several places salty deposits in the soil, known as salt licks, attracted the buffalo and other animals by the thousands. The trails followed by the buffaloes to these licks and to their watering places were worn two and three feet deep by constant traveling. Deer and elk were so abundant that hunters were able in the course of a season's hunting to collect several thousand skins to be carried back and sold in the settlements. In the woods and among the canebrake, bears prowled and growled. The hunters shot them also for their skins and for use as food. Wild turkeys, geese and ducks were then so abundant and so unafraid that

any hunter could get all he wanted of them. In a land of abundance like this, no one need have fear of hunger or starvation.

The beauty and richness of the country were almost as appealing to Daniel Boone as the abundance of game. Everywhere great forests covered the land, broken here and there by smaller patches of prairie and meadow. The forest trees were mainly hardwoods, oak, hickory, beech, black and white walnut, tulip, coffee-berry and other trees. They grew with high branches and comparatively little underbrush, so that it was easy to walk or ride among them. From tree to tree flitted song birds of many kinds, and the red birds, with their loud clear whistling and their bright plumage, were especially cheerful as companions of the forest. Beneath the trees there grew the canebrake, upon the young shoots of which the deer and other browsing animals thrive and prospered. Everywhere flowed streams and springs of crystal cold water. The climate on the whole was mild and temperate, the sun nearly always shining, and the winter short and gentle.



To Daniel Boone Kentucky in its virgin state seemed like a paradise on earth. But unfortunately for the white men, this paradise was not without a serpent. The Indians

claimed this hunter's paradise as particularly a hunting ground of their own. They resented the coming of the white men, who in a few weeks with their gunpowder could kill more game than they with their bows and arrows would kill in years. On his first big hunting trip into Kentucky, Boone was captured by the Indians, who took away all the skins and furs he and his companions had gathered. They took also their horses and all their supplies, and sent them off homeward with this warning:

"Now, brothers, go home and stay there. Don't come here any more, for this is the Indians' hunting ground, and all the animals, skins and furs are ours. If you are so foolish as to venture here again, you may be sure the wasps and yellow jackets will sting you severely."

Having got off with their scalps, one might suppose that Boone and his companions would have been glad to let well enough alone. But no—they wanted to get their horses back. They followed the Indians for two days, and in the darkness of the night they managed to carry off two of the horses. The Indians immediately pursued them, and again after a chase of two days they were recaptured by the Indians. Luckily for Boone, the Indians were in a playful humor. They took a bell from one of the horses, and hanging it about Boone's neck, they made him caper about and jingle the bell, all the while brandishing their tomahawks and jeering at him. Boone was a prisoner among these Indians for a week or more, but when the Indians were not watching as closely as they should have been, he plunged into a thick canebrake and so escaped.

This was but one of the many narrow escapes of Daniel Boone in the Indians' hunting grounds. He seems to have

had a charmed life, but the charm lay in his fearlessness and his great knowledge of woodcraft. For weeks and months at a time he lived alone in the woods, with no other food than that which was brought down by his rifle and with no shelter other than the trees and bushes of the forest. In order not to be surprised by the Indians, he changed his sleeping place every night, and for company he communed with the stars or sang songs to himself. This was the life Daniel Boone loved. He endured it not as a hardship, but he sought it because he liked it.

Boone was not always alone, however, on his hunting trips, and he tells of camping in the year 1770 on Red river, which is about in the middle of Kentucky, with five others. One of the five went buffalo-hunting one day and killed two buffaloes. "We had with us for our amusement," says Boone, "the *History of Samuel Gulliver's Travels*, wherein he gave an account of his young master, Glumdelick, caring [carrying] him on market day for a show to a town called Lulbegrud. A young man of our company called Alexander Neely came to camp and told us he had been that day to Lulbegrud, and had killed two Brobdignags in their capitol," the two Brobdignags being the two buffaloes. Boone did not remember the name of the town exactly, for as Swift, the author of *Gulliver's Travels*, gives it, the name is Lorbrulgrud. But Lulbegrud was near enough, and this is the name which these pioneers gave to a little creek in Kentucky, and this is the name which this creek bears to this day.

All of Boone's companions were not so fortunate as Boone in his wilderness escapes and adventures. That very comrade who had shared captivity with Boone when their horses were taken, came to an unhappy end. His name

was Stewart and, like Boone, he was accustomed to go on long hunts by himself. From one of these hunts he never returned. Five years later, when Boone was cutting a trail through the forest, he came upon all that was left of Stewart in a standing hollow sycamore. What the disaster was that had befallen him, no one ever knew.

Western Settlement.

The hunter and the trapper are followed quickly by the settler and farmer. Boone himself led various groups of colonists into Kentucky. Other settlements had been made shortly before this, and still more were made soon afterwards. In the year 1775 the various towns in Kentucky were organized under the name Transylvania, and they petitioned Congress for admission to the Union as a State under this name. The petition was not granted, and instead Kentucky was made into a county of Virginia in 1776.

The population west of the Alleghanies was increasing so rapidly that it soon became apparent at the close of the War of Independence that Congress must do something in the way of organizing this broad and rich territory. By the time Washington was elected President, many of the settlements beyond the Alleghanies had become peaceful and established communities. But still the immigration kept up. It swept like a mighty tidal wave up the sides of the mountains and down into the rich valley of the Ohio and its tributaries. The immigrants were filled with hope and exultation. They were making a new discovery of America. They were turning their backs on the Atlantic Ocean, on the last memories of the Old World, and were entering a New World immeasurably richer and wider than any the early colonists had dreamed of. They were destined to change

the character of civilization in America, for from now on, the face of America was to be turned to the West. The Revolution had made America independent; the discovery and opening of the West were to make America self-dependent.

The West Becomes Public Domain.

Just how to govern this new and rapidly growing West was a question that much troubled the lawmaking minds of Congress. It obviously would not do to let matters take their own course. Something must be done, but the main difficulty was to decide just who should have authority over these regions and how this authority should be exercised.

Several of the States made claims upon this western country on the basis of rights which had been granted to them when they were still colonies of Great Britain. Virginia and New York made the largest claims. Virginia maintained, by the charter granted to her when the colony was first established at Jamestown, that all the region northwest from the Ohio river to Lake Superior belonged to her. Much of this same territory was claimed by New York on the ground that to New York rightly belonged all the possessions of the Iroquois Indians, including the western lands which the Iroquois had formerly claimed. Massachusetts and Connecticut under their early charters also laid claim to strips of land beyond the western boundary of New York. Georgia and North Carolina claimed the land south of the line of Virginia and westward from their own borders to the Mississippi.

Now it was plain that if all these claims were allowed and peacefully settled, the result would be to make some of the States immensely larger and more powerful than the

rest. Delaware, Maryland and Rhode Island were small enough as it was, when one compared them with Virginia or New York. But if Virginia and New York were made to extend westward to the Mississippi, these big States would be made half a dozen times bigger than they already were.

These questions were much debated just at the time when the Articles of Confederation, the form of general government which preceded the present national Constitution, were also up for discussion and for acceptance by the several States. But Maryland refused to ratify the Articles of Confederation except on the condition that these western lands became the property of the United States. Congress suggested in 1780 that the States should yield their claims to the general government, the government to dispose of these lands not in the interest of any particular State, but for the common good of the United States. New York responded by giving up her western claims in 1781, and Virginia followed, except that she retained Kentucky as a county of Virginia until 1792, when Kentucky became a State of the United States. Massachusetts, Connecticut and the other States also gave up their claims, so that in the end all the territory lying beyond the western limits of the original thirteen colonies became national domain and the direct possession of the government of the United States.

The Ordinance of 1787.

Under the Articles of Confederation, however, Congress had no authority for governing this new territory. One plan of Congress was to sell these new lands and in this way provide at least part of the funds for paying the na-

tional debt. Thomas Jefferson proposed that the whole western region be divided into States, and he proposed making fourteen of these States. The general plan was approved by Congress, but nothing was done to organize the States. Finally Congress passed what is known as the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory. This Territory included the region between the Ohio river on the south, the Mississippi river on the west, the Great Lakes on the north, and the older States on the east.

The intention was finally to make new States out of this Territory, but until the Territory was ready for such action, according to the Ordinance it was to be governed directly by Congress. Congress was to appoint a governor and judges, and as soon as there were five thousand people in the Territory, there was to be an assembly or legislature. This legislature should have the right to send a delegate to Congress who might take part in debate but not vote. Religious freedom was to be assured to all settlers, and certain parts of the land were to be set aside for the support of schools. The right of trial by jury was assured, and slavery was prohibited.

This Ordinance of 1787 is important because it provided the model for all later organization and administration of the public domain of the United States and because it indicates so well the trend of political thought in that time. The Ordinance of 1787 shows clearly that the American principles of religious toleration, of personal liberty and of faith in education were held not less firmly than before in spite of the many perplexities and difficulties of the early years of the republic.

Of the States which were made out of the lands of the

Northwest Territory, Ohio was the first to be admitted to the Union, in 1803. Indiana followed in 1816, Illinois in 1818, but Michigan not until 1837 and Wisconsin not until 1848.

Though Ohio was the first State to be formed in the Northwest Territory, Ohio was not the first State to be added to the original thirteen. Vermont was made into a State in 1791, out of territory lying between New York and New Hampshire, and Kentucky was made a State in 1792, Tennessee in 1796.

The Louisiana Purchase.

The original area of the United States extended from Maine to Florida, but did not include Florida, and from the coast to the Mississippi, but not beyond the Mississippi. Besides the thirteen original colonies and the States of the Northwest Territory, only Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi lie within this area. To us today the United States would seem very small if it covered no greater extent of territory. And indeed, soon after the western movement began, far-seeing Americans were looking toward the Mississippi and beyond. The regions west of the Mississippi belonged to Spain, and to Spain belonged also the eastern as well as the western shore of the Mississippi toward its mouth. This gave Spain control of the entrance to the Mississippi river, and in consequence practical control over the commerce of the river.

With the growth of the West, the American shipping on the Ohio river and the Mississippi became very important, and misunderstandings with the Spanish authorities were frequent and serious. They might have become much more serious except that by a lucky change in European

politics, the United States acquired possession of the whole of the Mississippi. In 1800 Spain had ceded to France what is known as the Louisiana Territory, including all the land between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains, and the Gulf of Mexico and the British possessions in Canada. In 1803 the United States succeeded in buying this vast area, over one million square miles, including New Orleans and all of Louisiana west of the Mississippi, for fifteen million dollars.

This is known as the Louisiana Purchase, a large and fortunate transaction for the American government. By this purchase America gained complete control of the Mississippi river. Further European rivalry for the possession of the American continent was thus made impossible, and the area of the United States was doubled. This purchase did not include Florida, but this region was purchased from Spain in 1819 for five million dollars. Neither did the purchase include what is now the present State of Texas and all the territory lying west of the Rockies to the Pacific. This region still belonged to Spain, and when Mexico claimed her independence of Spain in 1822, it became a part of Mexico.

The Mexican War.

In the North, where the State of Oregon now lies, after much debate and altercation the boundaries were finally fixed by treaty with England as following the line of the forty-ninth parallel. The southern and western boundaries were not settled so peacefully. In fact the question of boundaries led to a war with Mexico. As a result of this Mexican War and of the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo which ended it in 1848, Mexico yielded to the

United States the territory in which now lie Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California and the Rocky Mountain States north of these States.

The continental boundaries of the United States as thus established remained fixed thereafter, except for the purchase in 1853 of forty-seven thousand square miles of land from Mexico for ten million dollars. This land, known as the Gadsden Purchase, lies south of Arizona and New Mexico, and the purchase of it extended the southern limits of those States some miles further into what had been Mexican territory.

Certain lands lying outside these continuous boundaries were later added to the United States. Of these the largest in area in Alaska, covering nearly six hundred thousand square miles, which was purchased from Russia in 1867 for seven million two hundred thousand dollars. Smaller possessions of the United States are the Philippine Islands, Porto Rico, Guam, the Hawaiian Islands, the Panama Canal Zone and the United States Samoan Islands. These smaller possessions may be described as accidental incumbrances which circumstances have from time to time compelled the United States to assume.

Farthest West.

Having at last arrived at the Pacific, the wave of western expansion in American reached its natural limits. Further west lay only the desert wastes of the ocean. But unlike Alexander, the American pioneers felt no desire to sit down and weep for more worlds to conquer. They were satisfied. Having once crossed the Alleghanies, there was indeed no stopping place for the westward migration short of the Pacific. The American pioneers were like a huge,

sprawling family moving into a new house of many rooms. They could not stop until they knew their house, from cellar to attic, from front door to kitchen porch.

Nature had made this house; the only duty of the pioneers was to occupy it. When they had occupied the eastern side of the Mississippi valley, it was too much to ask of them to halt their march and wait until Spain, France or some other country should be ready to occupy the western side. The western regions lay there, idle and inviting, and when the Americans were ready, they moved into them. There was no natural barrier separating the eastern half of the Mississippi valley from the western, and the civilization of the whole of the valley was bound to be the same. Whatever might happen in European politics, the progress of events in the United States had determined by 1800 that this civilization was to be the civilization of the United States.

Fortunately the accidents of European politics made it possible for the United States to secure the whole of the Mississippi valley both cheaply and peaceably. But even the Louisiana Purchase offered no resting place for the American imagination when the American mind strove to form in outline a picture of the United States. Where should the western limits of the national land lie? On the barren summits of the Rocky Mountains? And who then should possess the land beyond the Rockies? Who should hold the harbors in which the ships that sail the Pacific must cast their anchors?

Without any intention of conquest, and led on step by step by the nature of things, the Americans found themselves facing the Pacific. There they stopped. They were satisfied.

They are still satisfied. They look back over the snow-capped peaks and rocky ridges of the mountains, over the deserts of sage brush and prairie, across the immeasurable riches of the valley of the Mississippi, then beyond the green Alleghanies to the rivers that flow down to the Atlantic. They look at all this varied landscape of mountain, field and forest, of tropic luxuriance in the south and frozen snow fields in the far north, and they are satisfied. The great land-hunger has been satisfied. The unknown and the untamed no longer lure the American people forward. They know the bounds and limits of their land. They know them and are satisfied, for they see that America at last has occupied the continent which is her home.

XIV

HIGHWAYS, STEAMBOATS AND RAILROADS

WHEN the English settlers first investigated the New World, the only roads they found here were Indian trails. These trails were merely paths through the woods, leading from one point of interest to other points.

But the places and points that interested the Indians were not often the places and points that interested the white settlers. Only the hunter and trapper sought out the dark retreats of the forest. The settlers preferred to stay near the seashore. There they built their first towns, and on the banks of creeks that led down to the ocean they laid out their first farms.

If the early colonists wished to travel, it was much easier for them to go from one colony to another by water than by land. From Boston to Newport, from Newport to New Haven, from New Haven to New York, from New York to Philadelphia, from Philadelphia to Norfolk, from Norfolk to Wilmington, from Wilmington to Charleston—these were easy voyages. But the journey from one of these places to another by land was quite a different matter. Even after New York and Boston had been settled a hundred years, the roads connecting these two important places were both bad and dangerous, and travelers who were compelled to make the journey by land rode horseback.

From Boston to New York.

One of these travelers fortunately wrote out an account of such a journey, and from this description we get a vivid picture of land travel in early colonial days. This traveler was a certain Madam Knight, who lived in Boston. She started from Boston at three o'clock Monday afternoon, October 2, 1704, and arrived in New York "about an how'r before sunsett" on December 7, 1704, a journey of a little over two months. It took her longer to return, for she left New York on Thursday, December 21, 1704, and reached Boston March 3, 1705. Of course, all this time was not spent in traveling, but part of it in resting occasionally from the fatigues of the rough journey, part of it in waiting for flooded streams to go down so that they could be crossed, and part of it in hunting up guides to show the way.

The last few days of the return journey will serve as a sample of Madam Knight's experiences. Starting out from New London, says Madam Knight in her own words and spelling, "I Crossed ye Ferry to Groton, having had the Honor of the Company, of Madam Livingston (who is the Governors Daughter) and Mary Christophers and divers others to the boat—And that night Lodg'^d at Stonington and had Roast Beef and pumpkin sause for supper. The next night at Haven's and had Rost fowle, and the next day wee come to a river which by Reason of ye Freshetts coming down was swell'^d so high wee fear'^d it impassable and the rapid stream was very terryfying—However we must over and that in a small Cannoo. Mr. Rogers assuring me of his good Conduct, I after a stay of near an how'r on the shore for consultation went into the Cannoo, and Mr. Rogers paddled about 100 yards up

the Creek by the shore side, turned into the swift stream and dexterously steering her in a moment wee come to the other side as swiftly passing as an arrow shott out of the Bow by a strong arm. I staid on ye shore till Hee returned to fetch our horses, which he caused to swim over himself bringing the furniture [that is, the saddles, bridles, etc.] in the Cannoo. But it is past my skill to express the Exceeding fright all their transactions formed in me. Wee were now in the colony of the Massachusetts and taking Lodgings at the first Inn we come too had a pretty difficult passage the next day which was the second of March by reason of the sloughy ways then thawed by the Sunn. Here I mett Capt. John Richards of Boston who was going home, So being very glad of his Company we Rode something harder than hitherto, and missing my way in going up a very steep Hill, my horse dropt down under me as Dead; this new surprise no little hurt me meeting it Just at the Entrance into Dedham from whence we intended to reach home that night. But was now obliged to gett another Horse there and leave my own, resolving for Boston that night if possible. But in going over the Causeway at Dedham the Bridge being overflowed by the high waters comming down I very narrowly escaped falling over into the river Horse and all w^{ch} twas almost a miracle I did not—now it grew late in the afternoon and the people having very much discouraged us about the sloughy way w^{ch} they said wee should find very difficult and hazardous it so wrought on mee being tired and dispirited and disapointed of my desires of going home that I agreed to Lodg there that night w^{ch} we did at the house of one Draper, and the next day being March 3d wee got safe home to Boston.” Glad enough was Madam Knight to

have her long journey over, "my Kind relations and friends flocking in to welcome mee and hear the story of my transactions and travails."

The Post Roads and the National Roads.

In the course of time, the journey from Boston to New York came to be not quite so much of an undertaking as it was in Madam Knight's day. The roads throughout the colonies improved, or at least some few of them were improved. The Boston Post Road, the Albany Post Road, and a few others became busy lines of travel and traffic. Regular stages were run between important places, so that it was possible to make twenty-five or thirty miles a day with fair comfort. But even after the advent of the stages the commonest manner of traveling was on horseback. The mails were usually carried in this way. Between New York and Philadelphia, in the early years of the United States, the mails were carried five times a week, and it took two days for each trip.

Long distance journeys on land were not very common or very necessary in America, however, until the beginning of the westward movement in migration. To the time of the Revolution the colonies remained, on the whole, separate and independent neighborhoods. There was not a great deal of communication among them, and such as there was could most conveniently be carried on by means of the ocean-going sailing vessels that called from port to port.

But the western emigrants could not reach their new homes by means of sailing vessels. They were compelled to travel by land, and so it was that the first great highways in America were made to help the western pioneers through the rough hills and forests to their goal beyond the Alle-

ghanies. One of these early highways was the Cumberland Road, also called the National Road or National Pike. It was first built from Cumberland in Maryland to Wheeling on the Ohio, was then extended later to Columbus in Ohio, to Indianapolis in Indiana and Vandalia in Illinois. Of course this road had been extensively used before it was made a national road, but the national government improved it and thus made westward travel easier.

Along this road, and other roads like it, marched the great army of eager pioneers who in a few years' time were to change the silent forests of the wide western valleys to a region of busy farms and cities. The pioneers came from all parts of the older America: from the New England States, from the Middle States, and from the Southern States. Many of them were immigrants coming directly from the Old World. Almost at a step these strangers passed from the civilization of England, of Scotland and of Germany into the American wilderness. On the road they mixed with Americans, learning what Americans were like, just as the Americans mixed with each other, learning what each other were like. The routes of travel from the East to the West were the first great mingling places of the peoples of the many tribes and races that have gone to the making of the American nation.

Going West Downstream.

Once across the mountains, however, the western emigrants were not limited to traveling on roads. At Wheeling and at Pittsburgh they were at the headwaters of great navigable rivers. In the older States along the Atlantic coast, there was only one navigable river of any importance, and that was the Hudson. But from Wheeling one could

float down the Ohio, up the many large tributaries of the Ohio, then at the mouth of the Ohio one could travel up and down the Mississippi, and up the other large tributaries of the Mississippi. Following the Missouri toward its source, one could propel a boat almost to the Rocky Mountains. And at the mouth of the Mississippi lay New Orleans, on the Gulf of Mexico, beyond which stretched the wide ocean and the ports of all the world.

River-voyaging soon became a highly organized system of traveling for western adventurers. Having brought their families and their possessions across the mountains on horseback or in wagons, at the Ohio river the emigrants embarked in boats and continued their journey in this easier and more comfortable way. To be sure, there were no steamboats in the early years of the western migration. This was before the days of steam. But there were plenty of boats of other kinds. They had different names. Some were called flatboats, some were arks, some were keelboats, some were pirogues, some were broadhorns, and there were still others with names to distinguish their special characteristics. The flatboats and arks were the largest, somewhat like a barge, with a covered cabin or house at the middle of the boat. Sometimes several families together would buy or rent one of these flatboats and float down the river in a kind of jolly neighborhood party. Everybody would be sure to be in high spirits, for were they not all bound for a new land where wealth and happiness was waiting for them? And undoubtedly the Ohio, still a beautiful river, must have been even more alluring in those days. The woodsman's ax had as yet made no great impression on the forests that grew down to the banks of the river. No factory smoke had yet dimmed the blue of the sky. The first voyagers

down the river, however, had dangers to meet. At any hidden bend, they might expect to find Indians lying in ambush for them. Many were the wily tricks the Indians played in order to bring the white boatmen to their hands. River fights were frequent and often bloody. But the period of Indian warfare on the Ohio did not last long. The Indians soon retreated to regions farther north and west. Farms were cleared in the fertile bottoms and the country became peaceful.

It was then that the great throngs of emigrants began to pour over the mountains into the valley. After 1790 they came in a steady stream, and the Ohio and its tributaries became busy lines of western travel. Soon the newer emigrants as they floated along were living on the products of the country. The farmers brought down to the river their butter, milk and eggs, their chickens and turkeys, their peaches, melons and honey, to sell to the passing emigrants. They brought also hams and bacon, beef in abundance, and not infrequently hunters appeared with venison for sale.

Such was the richness and abundance of the new country that all these good things were to be had for a small price. The emigrants who had even a little money to spend could live like the kings they felt themselves to be. These were the early glorious days of river travel, when the spirit of adventure was in the air, when every barge and boat was a golden argosy sailing into a golden future. The river was the river of hope. It was musical with the loud mellow notes of the boatmen blown on their long wooden trumpets, and the distant echoes, dying away on the wooded hillsides, were the voices of the new West, calling the pioneers on their long journeys farther and still farther toward the setting sun.



DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

From the Mouth of the Missouri to the Shores of the Pacific.

The most interesting river voyage ever made in the United States was the famous journey of Lewis and Clark to the source of the Missouri river and then across the Rockies to the Pacific. These two commanders, with the rest of their party, set out from St. Louis on May 14, 1804, and with much labor and not a little danger, both from the rapid river itself and from hostile Indians along its banks, they pushed and pulled and poled their way to the upper waters of the Missouri before winter.

They spent the winter on the banks of the Missouri, near a village of the Mandan Indians. In the spring they continued up the Missouri, reaching its source on August 12, 1805. They then made a hard journey across the mountains, but at length they reached the great Columbia river and floated down its broad surface to the Pacific. They had their first view of the Pacific on November 7, 1805, more than a year and a half after they had left St. Louis. The winter of 1805 was spent on the Columbia, and with the spring, the little expedition began its return journey, across the mountains and down the Missouri to St. Louis.

This whole voyage was made through a wild and uninhabited country where buffaloes, deer, antelopes, grizzly bears and hostile Indians abounded. It was a succession of one exciting and often dangerous adventure after the other. The explorers kept a full record of their experiences and observations, and after their return to civilization, their accounts were read with the greatest enthusiasm all over the United States. The expedition of Lewis and Clark first made the American people realize the extent and enormous possibilities of their great far-western country.

The rivers soon became important, however, as carriers of other traffic besides western explorers and adventurers. For the lands along the rivers, and inland from the rivers, were quickly settled, and in a short time they began to produce much more than the settlers or the passing emigrants could use. The corn, the flour, the pork and beef, the lumber and other products of these valley farms were then loaded on the river boats and floated down the Ohio and other streams to the Mississippi and then to the lower towns of the Mississippi, or to New Orleans, whence they could be shipped to all the ports of the world. As a young man, Abraham Lincoln made a voyage like this, from Illinois to New Orleans. The first great commerce of the inland regions of the United States was a commerce built upon transportation by water. But the water of the inland regions was the water of America's greatest river system, not the salt water of the ocean.

Steamboats on the Rivers.

With the development of the application of steam for motive power, the Ohio, Mississippi and Missouri became more important than ever in the busy life of the West. The first steamboat successfully operated in the United States was the *Clermont*, which was run by Robert Fulton from New York to Albany in August, 1807. This distance was one hundred and fifty miles, and the time was thirty-two hours, a little less than five miles an hour. This was not very fast. But steamboats rapidly improved after this first experiment. The first steamboat to be used on the Ohio river was in 1816, and soon steamboats replaced the older and slower flatboats, keelboats, broadhorns, arks and other river craft.

In 1817 the journey from Louisville to New Orleans could be made by steamboat in seven days. This distance was one thousand five hundred and two miles, and the boat therefore made almost ten miles an hour. To one accustomed to think of traveling thirty, forty or even fifty miles an hour on a railroad train, ten miles an hour does not seem very fast. But it seemed fast enough to those who hitherto had been dependent on wind and weather in their voyaging. Even on the river, head winds often delayed boats for days, sometimes for weeks. The great advantage of the steamboats was that they could travel day or night, no matter how the wind blew or what the weather promised. The journey against the current from New Orleans back to Louisville, or Cincinnati, or Pittsburgh, naturally took longer than the voyage in the other direction, with the current, but even so it was easier and cheaper for the merchant in New York or some other seaport town to ship his goods to New Orleans, and so up the river, than to freight them by wagon across the Alleghanies. In this case the longest way around was at least the cheapest way there.

The steamboats on the rivers rapidly increased in numbers and they improved also in size, in speed and in comfort. Those designed especially for carrying passengers even became luxurious. They are described by those who lived in their day as being veritable floating palaces, with velvet carpets, shining mirrors, polished woodwork, luxurious cabins for sleeping, richly set and abundantly served tables for dining, wide decks for promenading and dancing, in fact everything that art and skill could assemble.

But even the steamboats were not fine enough or swift enough to satisfy for long the growing ambitions of the young West. The glory of the steamboats came quickly,

and quickly it departed. The race may not always be to the swift, but in the business of moving people or goods from one part of the country to another, it is pretty likely to be. The steamboat was a great invention, and on the ocean, where tracks cannot be laid, it has held its own. But in inland regions the steamboat was soon compelled to meet competition with a rival that could go much faster and could travel elsewhere than in the bed of a river. This rival was the railroad.

Canals and Canal Boats.

Before the railroads reached their full development, however, they also had a rival which competed both with them and with the river steamers. After the natural river ways had been found so useful, the notion quickly arose of the possibility of building artificial waterways, or canals. An era of canal-building then set in, and regions not favored with natural rivers were to have artificial rivers brought to their very doors.

The most important of the early American canals was the Erie Canal, running from Albany on the Hudson to Buffalo on Lake Erie. This canal, which is still in existence, is three hundred and sixty-three miles long. It made New York the most important seaport on the Atlantic coast because it connected New York directly by water with the interior. Along its line grew up several large cities—Buffalo, Syracuse, Rochester—besides many smaller ones.

The canal boats themselves were built not only to carry freight but also for passengers. The best of them were fitted with luxurious sleeping and dining quarters, and the deck provided a comfortable place for lounging and talking. A journey from Albany to Buffalo on the canal was a pleas-

ant and diverting experience. Traveling in this fashion was clean, quiet and restful, though it was not particularly rapid, for the boats could go no faster than the horses or mules that towed them. It was nevertheless a very popular way of traveling, and from 1825, when the Erie Canal was finished, to about 1850, when the railroads began to take the place of the canals, the steamboats and canal boats were the common carriers of freight and passengers in the United States.

The Coming of the Railroads.

The railroads did not come all at once, but were gradually and slowly developed by long experiment. The two most important features of the modern railroad are, first, the running of cars on prepared tracks, thereby avoiding the roughness and inequalities of the surface of the earth, and second, the moving of these cars by means of steam engines. The running of cars on prepared tracks is very old, whether down a natural incline or with horses as the motive power. But the use of steam engines on railroads did not develop until about a hundred years ago, when the possibilities of steam for producing power were first being realized. The earliest steam engines for railroads were made in England, and the first ones operated in this country were brought over from England. The first regular passenger-carrying service on a railroad in America was in South Carolina. This railroad was one hundred and thirty-six miles long, and it began operations in January, 1831.

About the same time, the building of other railroads was begun in various parts of the eastern States of America. For the most part these were short roads connecting two somewhat important places lying close together. But as

the great possibilities of the railroad became more apparent, the builders of them conceived the daring notion of connecting the East with the West in this way. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was begun in 1828, and it was gradually built westward over the mountains until in 1853 it reached Wheeling, thus connecting the Ohio river with the Chesapeake Bay and Atlantic Ocean. By 1857 it was possible to travel on the railroad from Baltimore to St. Louis.

In New York State, the Erie Railroad was begun in 1840, and in 1851 it had reached the eastern end of Lake Erie, thus connecting the Great Lakes and the Hudson river. The Pennsylvania Railroad was carried across the State of Pennsylvania, and by 1852 its tracks and trains united Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. In the year following, the New York Central Railroad was organized by uniting several smaller roads, and this powerful company then began its career of building new roads for its system of main lines and branches and feeders.

Across the Continent.

All this time the railroads were creeping farther and farther westward. But soon work was also begun on the Pacific coast on railroads moving eastward. The two lines of construction came together at last at Promontory Point in Utah on May 10, 1869, and thus the first transcontinental railroad in America was completed. It was now possible to ride by train from New York or Boston on the Atlantic Ocean to San Francisco on the Pacific, and this journey could be performed in an insignificant part of the time hitherto required to cover the same distance by stage or on horseback. The building of this transcontinental railroad was a great achievement, and the successful completion of it was

celebrated with enthusiasm all over America. It was felt that America at last had chained her wild continent. She had tamed it and mastered its whole vast breadth from one ocean to the other, until now it rested peacefully within the embrace of the long iron arms of her railroad.

Since the days of these early triumphs of railroad-building in America, the work of extending the railroads has gone steadily forward. Instead of one, there are now some half dozen transcontinental lines. Like a hand with a thousand fingers, the railroads spread out over the whole continent, drawing together and distributing again the rich products of the whole country for the common welfare. The canals and river boats of the earlier period have almost completely disappeared. The greater speed of the railroads and the possibility of making them go where they were wanted, even up the sides of steep mountains, gave the railroads a great advantage over the older and slower methods of travel by water, and against this competition the canal and river boats could not endure.

When the steam railroads were in their experimental stage and were just being built, they were not universally welcomed. Many people were strongly opposed to them. They objected that the railroads were noisy, dirty and unlovely, that they destroyed the peace and serenity of the regions through which they moved, that they endangered life and limb, not only for those who rode on them but also for anyone whom chance might put in their way. These were some of the objections urged against the railroads. There were still others; for example, that the railroads would disturb the settled habits of communities by causing people to move hastily from one region to another; that the railroad companies themselves would become strong and powerful,

so strong and powerful that they would be able to do things that no individual could or should do. They feared that the railroads might get beyond the control of the people.

The Age of Steam and Iron.

These were not foolish objections. They may still be urged against the railroads, even today. The main point is not, however, whether the railroads have their objectionable sides, but whether on the whole their advantages outweigh their disadvantages. But it is useless to debate even this question, for undoubtedly the railroads have come to stay. It would be impossible to imagine the civilization of our day without the railroads. We live now in an age of steam and iron. Man carries on now mainly by the things he makes, by his machinery. It is vain to question whether the machinery may not be stronger than the creator of it, whether man with his steam and iron has not fashioned a monster that is destroying him. This question is vain, for man must go on making more and more machines, better and better railroads, until he finds out by trying just what his machines can be made to do for him. The civilization of steam and iron can never return to the serener civilization of the older days when the simple forces of nature did the work of mankind. That was a civilization of wind and water, of the straining muscle of beast and man. Ours is a different civilization, swifter, gayer, richer, a civilization of the will and intelligence of mankind, and of this civilization the railroad is the center and the symbol.

From the Indian trail to the railroad, from the birch-bark canoe to the steel locomotive, this is a long way for the imagination to travel. In between lie the discarded pack and saddle of the horseman, the abandoned stagecoach, the de-

cayed hulks of the canal boats and the floating palaces of the rivers. All these are gone, and the railroad only remains. Is the railroad the end of the story, or is there still another machine, and a stronger, to issue from the mind of mankind, a machine that needs no rails and that shall carry even heavier burdens for him and shall also convey man himself even more swiftly on his journeys of business and of pleasure? To this question, no one knows the answer. We only know that one hundred years ago, no one could have foreseen what the railroads would become, nor can anyone today foresee what the next one hundred years shall bring forth.

XV

CITIES AND CITIZENS

ONE of the most remarkable facts about American cities is the rapidity with which they have grown in size and number during the past one hundred years. There are now about two thousand cities and towns in the United States containing a population of three thousand people or more. The largest American city is New York, with a population of over five and one-half millions. Including Brooklyn, the population of Greater New York is over seven and one-half million people. This is a little over seven per cent of the whole population of the United States. The six largest cities in the world, in order, are New York, London, Berlin, Paris, Chicago, Tokio.

Next in size in America after New York comes Chicago, with a population of not quite three millions. Then follows Philadelphia, with not quite two millions, and then Detroit, with not quite one million. After Detroit come Cleveland, St. Louis, Boston and Baltimore, each with something less than eight hundred thousand inhabitants. In the group containing between five and six hundred thousand people are Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, Buffalo and San Francisco.

As one decreases the amount of population, one rapidly increases the number of cities. There are thirty-five American cities which contain between one hundred thousand and two hundred thousand inhabitants. But the number of cities containing less than fifty thousand inhabitants is very

much greater than the number containing more, and there are a great many more cities of less than ten thousand inhabitants than there are cities of fifty thousand inhabitants in the United States. From this it will be seen that though there has been a general tendency toward city life in America, this tendency has not been to turn all American cities into large cities. On the contrary, by far the larger part of our cities and towns have remained comparatively small, though a few, on the other hand, have grown to be enormously large.

Growth of New York.

A comparison of the size of some of the larger American cities today with the figures for former years will show the extent and the rapidity of their growth. According to the census of 1800, New York had then a population of a little over sixty thousand. In 1850, the population was something over five hundred thousand. By 1900, it had increased to nearly three millions and a half. During the period between 1900 and 1920, the population of New York increased at the rate of a little over one million in each ten years. During the past hundred years, New York on an average has doubled in size for each year of the century. New York City alone now contains more inhabitants than the whole United States contained at the time of the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

Chicago.

Marvelous as the growth of New York has been, for rapidity of development New York cannot compete with Chicago. The first movement to incorporate Chicago as a town was made in 1833, and at that time the population

of the community was estimated at two hundred people. Chicago was just then becoming known as a spot in the wilderness. New York was already two hundred years old when Chicago had just become a town.

The first census of the population of Chicago was made in 1837, and the population was then shown to be a trifle over four thousand. In this year Chicago was changed from a town to a city.

In 1860 the population of Chicago had increased to a little over one hundred thousand, more than doubling in size for each of the years between 1837 and 1860. By 1890 Chicago had reached the number of one million inhabitants, and by 1920 the city had reached a total of nearly three million inhabitants. The whole history of Chicago as town and city from the beginning to the present day covers a period of about ninety years. Within those ninety years the population has grown from two hundred to nearly three million people. The only cities in the world now larger than Chicago are New York, London, Berlin and Paris.

The story of the growth of other large American cities would merely repeat the story of New York and Chicago. And not only the larger cities, but some of the smaller ones, also, have grown like Jack's bean-stalk, almost in a single night. Boom towns have sprung up at many places in the West during periods of feverish speculation, some of them disappearing almost as fast as they came, but many also remaining and developing into substantial and prosperous cities. Frequently when town sites were surveyed on the virgin prairie, streets were laid out before a single house was constructed, and the town, as one may say literally, was built from the ground up.

The Reasons for Large Cities.

No single reason can be given which will satisfactorily explain the luxuriant growth of all these American cities. The conditions of each city were different, and each offered its special attractions to prospective inhabitants.

In some of the causes of growth, however, all American cities have shared alike. All have grown through the coming of enormous numbers of European immigrants to America, many of whom in recent years have tended to collect in the cities. Moreover, the great industrial developments of the past two generations have favored the growth of all large cities. Where one factory is, another is likely to spring up, and so one after the other the factories develop until about them there is settled an army of workmen.

As American commerce and business have become national and international, business men have likewise found it convenient to establish offices in several large cities to take care of their business in the different centers of the country. Thus a manufacturing firm that sells articles all over the United States would very likely have an office in Boston for New England, one in New York for the Middle States and for the export trade, one in Chicago for the Central States, one in St. Louis for the Southwest, and one in San Francisco for the Far West. Each of these offices employs managers, bookkeepers, clerks, stenographers and assistants of various kinds, all adding to the population of the city. In some cities the army of office workers is as large as the army of shop workers in the factories. Then of course these office workers must be fed, clothed, housed and warmed, thus calling into activity many other occupations. And so the city grows.

Seaports, River Ports and Lake Ports.

During the colonial period of American history, the one thing that all the larger towns demanded was a harbor for seagoing vessels. The ocean was the path that united the New World to the Old World, and the main reason for the existence of towns in colonial times was that the current of life to and from the Old World flowed through them. So it happened that the important towns of the thirteen original colonies were seaports, Portland for Maine, Boston for Massachusetts, Providence for Rhode Island, New London and New Haven for Connecticut, the City of New York for New York, Philadelphia for Pennsylvania, Baltimore for Maryland, Norfolk for Virginia, Wilmington for North Carolina, Charleston for South Carolina, and Savannah for Georgia. There were other seaport towns during the early periods of American history, but these were the most important. At a later time, and as a result of the Louisiana Purchase, New Orleans was added to the list of older American seaports. Still later San Francisco, Portland and Seattle appeared on the Pacific coast.

Some inland cities also owe their prosperity to the fact that they are situated on important waterways. Thus Buffalo and Cleveland are on Lake Erie, Detroit is on the narrow channel which connects the three upper lakes, Huron, Michigan and Superior, with Lake Erie. Every vessel that comes down the lakes bound for Cleveland or Buffalo must pass by Detroit. Chicago lies at the southern end of Lake Michigan, and Duluth has its special advantage in being situated at the most western point on the five Great Lakes.

Some of the American cities on rivers are Pittsburgh and Cincinnati, on the Ohio, St. Louis, near the junction of the

Missouri and Mississippi, and many smaller cities. Rivers on the whole have not been important, however, in causing the growth of large cities, since river navigation was soon replaced by the railroads, which were swifter and more effective. But naturally cities that were important before the railroads were built became still more important afterwards, since the railroads were built in connection with these very cities. Thus Cincinnati and St. Louis are not only river ports, and Buffalo and Cleveland are not only Great Lake ports, but they are all likewise busy railroad centers.

Very many cities owe their first existence and all their later prosperity to the railroads. Thousands of small towns and stations have sprung up along the lines of the railroads, and of these the most favored have grown into larger towns and cities. In central New York, for example, the three large cities Rochester, Syracuse and Utica have practically been created by the New York Central Railway.

Manufacturing Cities.

Nearness to the supply of some necessity in manufacturing encourages the growth of a city. Thus Pittsburgh has prospered because it is near to iron mines, and near also to abundant supplies of coal for smelting the iron and for converting iron into steel. This applies also to Chicago, and to Gary, Indiana, not far from Chicago, where great steel-manufacturing plants are located. The iron ore for use in these plants is conveniently shipped there from the iron mines along Lake Superior, and the coal to be used in turning the ore into iron and steel comes from the near-by mines in Illinois and Indiana. Birmingham in Alabama is another great iron and steel city, the growth

of which has come about through its possession of a convenient supply of ore and coal. Minneapolis is famous for its flour mills, and into the building up of these great mills several factors have entered, an abundant wheat supply, water power from the falls of the Mississippi at this place, and good railway connections.

Governmental Cities.

Some cities may be called governmental cities, like the City of Washington. This city came into being as the capital of the United States, and its chief importance is still as the seat of the national government. It has grown to be a large city, being the fifteenth in size among American cities. It is larger than Cincinnati, New Orleans or Minneapolis, or many other important business and manufacturing cities. Some of the State capitals were also created in this way as seats of government, but unless they were assisted by manufacturing, business or some other resource, they have remained small.

Pleasure Cities.

A few American cities may be described as pleasure cities. They are cities which exist because travelers like to go there to enjoy themselves. Ordinarily people seek their pleasure resorts in the mountains or woods, far from crowds and noise, but Atlantic City has grown to be a city of fifty thousand permanent residents, a number which is sometimes doubled for short periods when the summer visitors fill the many hotels of the city.

Town and Country in America.

As American cities have grown larger, so also the country in America has become more like the city. One does

not find skyscrapers, rows of stores, shops and factories in the country, but many more of the comforts and conveniences of city life are now enjoyed by the farmers than ever before.

A hundred years ago, a farmer was tied to his farm because the roads were bad and few, and because there was no other way of traveling but by horseback or wagon. Nowadays almost all sections of the country in America have good roads. Most prosperous farmers also own automobiles, and a farmer who lives six or eight miles from town can get there and back in less time than half the journey would have taken in the old days. A great many farms likewise have telephones, and in a large number of communities electric railways and electricity are as commonly used in the country as in the city. The farmer nowadays is not lost to the world. If he wants to, he can be as much in the center of activity as the city-dweller. He has almost all the comforts and conveniences of life in the city, and to compensate for those which he does not have, such as city water, gas, paved sidewalks, theaters and stores, he has quiet and the source of supply for most of his needs right at his door.

In the future it is not probable that American cities will change a great deal. Some of them may become larger, though it is just as likely that some of them may become smaller. But country life, on the other hand, seems now just well started on a period of great change. In time the mechanical inventions and manufactures which have made the modern city so wonderful will no doubt be extended more and more to the country. The differences between life in the country and life in the city will thus become less and less.

But they will never completely disappear. For life in

the country will always mean close contact with the soil. It will mean making plants and animals grow for the support of mankind. This is the foundation of all human life, both in city and country, for only when the farmer produces food and raw materials can the city workers be free to engage in their own special arts and crafts.

Cities and Citizens.

According to the original meaning of the word, a citizen was a dweller in a city. But we ordinarily use the term citizen now to apply to a larger community than the city. Thus Americans are citizens of the United States.

Every citizen of the United States, however, is also a citizen of some special State. It is impossible to be a citizen of the whole United States without reference to any particular State. One of the chief marks of citizenship is that a citizen has the right to vote for the officers of government of the country. But it is only as a resident in some particular State that anyone living in the United States can exercise the privilege of voting.

County, Township and Town.

Every citizen is a member of a still smaller political unit than the State. If he lives in the country, he votes not only for national and State, but also for county and township officers. And if he lives in a city, he votes for city officers besides.

American cities are therefore like smaller republics within larger republics, each with its own work to perform. The national government has assigned to it certain appropriate duties and privileges. It controls the foreign rela-

tions of the United States, the relations of the States to each other, and those matters, like the postal system and the monetary system, which affect all citizens alike.

The State government in turn has its own special obligations in looking after the welfare of its own citizens in ways determined by their particular circumstances and needs. The cities finally have their own governments, designed to serve the special needs of the dwellers in the city.

Ordinarily a city is organized by an act of the legislature of the State in which the city lies. The legislature grants the city a charter, in which a statement is made of how the city is to be governed, what the officers of the city are to be, and how they are to be elected.

City Taxes.

The breath of life of a city's government, as of every other government, is in the taxes which the city can levy and collect. Without the money that comes from taxes, no government would be able to do much. Directly or indirectly, every city-dweller pays, first, federal taxes for the carrying on of the national government; second, state taxes for the carrying on of the state government; and, finally, city or municipal taxes, for the support of the city government.

The purposes for which money is required in a city are so numerous and so continually before every citizen's eyes that he has no difficulty in recognizing the importance of city taxes. A city is expensive to maintain. A city requires paved streets and sidewalks, and it requires lighting for the streets at night. Moreover, the streets must be swept and

kept clean. In the winter, if they are banked with snow so that people and vehicles are impeded, then the city has to remove the snow.

But these expenses are only the beginning of the charges for running a city which must be met by the taxes levied upon the citizens. The streets are often so crowded with vehicles that the traffic must be controlled by traffic policemen. And since there are always some lawless and criminal persons in any large community, policemen must patrol the city to keep the disorderly members of the community within bounds. All these officers of the peace must be paid for from city taxes.

The houses of a city are so close together that the danger from fire is very great, and for this reason the city is at the expense of maintaining a fire department for its protection. A board of health is also necessary, because when people live in close contact with each other, as they do in a city, diseases of various kinds may be quickly spread through a whole community, unless measures are taken to prevent this. Sewers must also be built and garbage must be removed in order to protect the health of the public. The charges for all these services must be met by city taxes.

City Ownership.

Some cities undertake to provide the dwellers in the city with the commonest and most necessary accompaniments of living. Most American cities now own their own water works, especially the larger cities, and practically all cities own their own sewers. Some cities also manufacture gas and electricity for the use of the citizens, supplying these necessary conveniences at a price determined by the cost of producing them. Certain cities have gone further than



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others in this matter of city control and ownership. In some cities and towns, the street railways are owned and operated by the cities.

The theory of city ownership is that what every dweller in the city must use, such as streets, water, gas, electricity, railways, should be under the direct control of the people of the city. But no city in America has carried this theory very far. For example, though telephones are used by practically everybody, the almost universal custom in American cities is for the telephones to be owned and operated by private companies. And indeed it is difficult to see where one would stop if one started to carry out the theory of city ownership of all common necessities. Bread is a common necessity, and so there would have to be city bakeries. But so also are milk and vegetables, meat and other foods, common necessities. There is almost no end to the number of industries which the city might thus own and operate. In reality, however, American cities have usually stopped with owning their sewers and water works, or at most, besides these, their gas and electricity plants. It is not improbable, however, that city ownership of common utilities will increase in the future.

Schools and Education.

Another obligation that rests upon the government of the city is that of providing the means of education for those who require education. Such persons are, of course, usually the young, and a considerable part of the city's taxes goes to the building and maintaining of schoolhouses and to the paying of teachers' salaries. In some of the larger cities schools are also maintained for the grown-ups, where older students can acquire the accomplishments or

useful arts which they had no opportunity to acquire when younger. These schools are often held at night, after the working hours of the day.

The public schools of the cities and towns of the United States are said to be free. They are free in the sense that no person who wishes to attend them is required to pay a special fee for this purpose. But of course somebody must pay for the maintenance of the public schools. The only persons who can pay for a public convenience are the public itself, and in the end the public schools are paid for by the people who use them. Paying for them through taxes is only an indirect and evenly distributed way of paying for them. The public schools belong to the community as a whole, and, as in all business transactions, the buyer gets only what he pays for, and is likely to get that only when he takes pains to see that he gets it.

Parks, Museums and Libraries.

Finally, most governments of cities make an effort to beautify their cities and to provide to some extent for the pleasure of the dwellers in the city. Thus parks are laid out, sometimes hundreds of acres in extent. Cities near the water often have municipal bathhouses. Museums of art or museums containing historical and scientific collections are in some instances owned by cities. Almost every city has its public library and some of the larger cities have zoölogical or botanical gardens. It is a poor American city that has not one or more pleasant retreats to which the tired citizen can escape from the crowds, the dust and the noise of the busy streets.

From this it will be seen that cities suffer from no lack of purposes to which they can apply the money collected

in taxes. These purposes are so much a part of our daily lives that we are inclined to take it for granted that water and paved streets and policemen and schools and teachers are a kind of free gift. But they are in fact a direct service, paid for by the money of the taxpayers of the city. Every voter in the city has his word to say on the question how the funds of the city shall be spent, and he says it by speaking for and by casting his vote for the particular persons to whom he wishes to entrust the government of his city. Each city is thus what its voters make it.

Who Owns the City?

It sometimes happens, however, that the voters in a city are so fully occupied with their own daily tasks that they neglect to pay attention to the way the city is run. It is not always easy to choose or to elect the right men as mayors, councilors, or other officers of cities, especially of large cities where the candidates for office cannot always be known personally to all of the voters. The result not infrequently has been that American cities have been badly governed. The money which the citizens have paid in taxes has sometimes gone into the pockets of selfish politicians instead of into the improvements for which it was intended. The correction of these evils, however, always lies in the hands of the voters. The city is as much their property as the house in which he lives is the property of the man who owns it, and if the citizens guard as carefully their rights in the city as they would guard their personal property, then the politicians will not be able long to abuse the powers of the offices with which they may have been entrusted.

BOOK V

SLAVERY AND SECESSION

XVI

PARTIES AND POLICIES

IN a country with a democratic form of government, like that of the United States, everybody must be interested in politics. Every citizen votes, and in order to vote understandingly, every voter must know something about the persons for whom he votes and about the policies, that is, the ideas of government, for which these persons stand. The acquiring of this knowledge and the endeavor to secure the election of the persons that one thinks ought to be elected is politics.

Many Men, Many Minds.

In politics, as in all other human affairs, it usually happens that men hold at least two opinions about a given matter. There may be more than two opinions, but to have everybody agreed almost never happens. It does not follow that one of two differing opinions must be right and the other wrong. They may both be right from the point of view of the persons who hold them, but the points of view may be different.

When such difference of opinion in politics exists, the members of each group will naturally strive to bring about the election of the persons who stand for the policies of which they approve. They will organize in order to support their candidates better, to spread information about their policies and to persuade others to vote as they vote.

Such organizations are called political parties, and at a given time there may be as many political parties in existence as there are policies before the people for their decision.

Political Parties.

Political parties in the United States have changed from time to time as the important questions concerning the welfare and the government of the country have changed. A good way to study the history of the United States would be to study the history of the various political parties that have existed. In such a study one would discover what questions have seemed important to the citizens of the country at various times, with what arguments these questions were discussed and debated, and how they were finally decided. There could be no better way to acquire political wisdom than such a study, for the political experience of the past would provide the best guide for the political activities of the citizen of the present.

From the very beginnings of the government of the United States, differences of opinion on important public matters have been present. The first burning question before the American people was the question of ratifying or not ratifying the Constitution uniting the separate States into a single strong federal government. Fortunately this question was decided without very long debate, and fortunately also the first President of the United States was elected without serious difference of opinion. It was unanimously agreed that his virtues and achievements entitled Washington to this distinction above all other possible claimants.

The Federal Party.

As the American citizens began to study the operations of their new government, however, they tended to look at it in several different ways. One of the problems they were confronted with was to determine just how strong the central or general federal government should be. The government of the United States was a government made by the consent and by the union of thirteen States which were originally altogether independent. How much of their independence must these separate States give up in joining the union of the United States? One party argued for a strong national government which should be like a benevolent but stern father, telling his children just what they should do and compelling them to obey his commands. This party thought that the central government should be a great, strong protective power which the citizens obeyed and with which they did not seek to meddle. Organized into a party, the advocates of this policy were called Federalists, and their party was called the Federal party.

The tendencies in government of the Federalist policies would be in the direction of what might be called benevolent control. It was perhaps natural at the time of the formation of the United States, when the governments of the world were kingdoms and empires with autocratic rulers at their heads, that even in a republic a very powerful central government should seem to be necessary. The American citizens, at least some of them, were afraid of being too democratic. They distrusted the people when it came to giving them too great control over their affairs. They preferred that the government should rest in the hands of a comparatively few persons, specially qualified by character and by

experience to govern well. This was the somewhat aristocratic and exclusive attitude of the Federal party.

The Republican Party of Jefferson.

The contrasting opinion, however, was not without its advocates, and a party of freedom, of wide democracy, sprang up in opposition to the Federalists. The head and organizer of this party, known as the Republican party, was Thomas Jefferson. The Federalists were strong enough to elect the second President, John Adams, but the Republicans elected the third President, Thomas Jefferson.

It was the principle of the Republican party that the people should be interfered with as little as possible by the general government. It was Jefferson's conviction that the people could take care of themselves if they were let alone, and that the business of the general government was carried on best when it provided peaceful opportunities, and nothing more, for the people. This policy was directly opposed to the Federal policy of benevolent control. Jefferson had confidence in the people. He maintained that they could manage their own affairs and that it was the function of the general government merely to give them the opportunity to do so.

On the whole the policy of Jefferson and his Republican party is the one that has appealed most to the American people. The Republicans elected not only Jefferson for two terms, but they elected also Madison, the fourth President, and Monroe, the fifth President, after which the Federalists as a party became of little political importance.

The notion that the general government is a strong, rich, kindly father who can give the people all they need and

want is a notion that thoughtful Americans have always fought against. They have opposed putting powers into the hands of the general government which the smaller communities can and should exercise. It is clear that there can be no virtue, no purpose or heart, in a popular government like that of the United States except such as are put there by the individuals who make the government. Everything in a popular government must come from the people. It would be foolish, therefore, to look up to a general government, hoping and trusting in it, as in some superior power, which shall save the people from error and assure them prosperity and happiness. So far as it is republican, the government can be only what the people make it, and the Jeffersonian policy that the people should stand as near as possible to their own government and should determine it as fully as possible, the American people have always held to be a sound policy.

The War of 1812.

The newer regions of the West, Kentucky, Tennessee and in general the settlements beyond the Alleghanies, were in the main strong supporters of the Jeffersonian Republican party. The western pioneers were a free, independent, democratic sort of people, a little rough and ready, and not at all likely to have much sympathy with the exclusive principles of the Federalist party. They were high-spirited and impulsive, not burdened as yet with a weight of accumulated riches or of long-established and traditional business interests. It was largely through the demands of this branch of the Republican party that the United States was led into its first war after it had won its independence.

This also was a war with England, and it is commonly known as the War of 1812, the year in which it began, though it lasted three years.

There was reason enough why Americans of that day should have been indignant at the treatment they were receiving from England. One of the great causes of friction was the "impressment of seamen." England maintained that she had the right to board and search any American ship and to impress or force into her naval service any British sailors she might find thereon. This claim might be a debatable matter, but the press-gangs who made these searches often went further. They seized genuine Americans under the pretense that they were British seamen, and forced them into the British service. The number of seamen thus captured and impressed by the British is said to have been over four thousand. England at this time was at peace with America, but at war with several of the Continental powers, and she was therefore in need of additions to her army and navy.

Moreover, the English warships frequently violated the rights of the Americans as neutrals by capturing and carrying off American merchant vessels. The Americans also maintained that the British in Canada egged the Indians on to attack the American settlements in the Northwest Territory and that they aided the Indians in various ways. Certain questions of the northern boundary of the United States left unsettled at the conclusion of the Revolution were further occasion for bitter feeling. No doubt all these questions might have been satisfactorily settled without a war, but the hot-headed war party won the day, and the country was plunged into a long and expensive struggle. This war cost the lives of thirty thousand Americans, and

over one hundred million dollars. During the war the city of Washington was captured by the British in August, 1814, and the Capitol, the White House and many government buildings were plundered and burned. In the end, the Americans may be said to have been victorious in this War of 1812, but it is a question whether the victory was not too dearly bought.

The chief gain of the War of 1812 was a gain in sentiment brought about by uniting the various States in a patriotic determination not to tolerate the insulting behavior of England and to stand together in defense of their national rights and national honor. The War of 1812 revealed to the rest of the world that the United States, though young in years, must be treated with the respect due to a nation able to defend itself, and it revealed also that this nation was not a group of contentious independent powers, but, as its name indicated, a genuine nation and a Union.

Republicanism and Democracy.

Two terms with which the historical student of American politics will be continually confronted are the adjectives republican and democratic, and it may be well to examine just what these words mean. The fact has already been mentioned that Jefferson was the founder of a Republican party, and it may be added that the principles of this party were democratic. In fact the words republican and democrat have often been used as though they meant about the same thing. Their meaning is indeed related, but not exactly the same. The name republic is the name for a kind of political government different from a kingdom or an empire. A republic is governed for the common welfare by members

of the community which constitute the republic. A kingdom or an empire is governed by a royal family to which the governing power belongs by right of birth and descent.

But it does not follow that all the members of a republican community participate in the government of the republic. Republics have existed in which the right to vote and the right to hold office have been restricted to comparatively few persons, sometimes to those who were rich, or to those who belonged to certain chosen families. Such governments, even though thus restricted, may rightly be described as republican in distinction to the royal or imperial government of kingdoms or empires.

It was not this limited kind of republicanism, however, that Jefferson had in mind when he founded his Republican party. These conservative and restricted notions were more characteristic of the Federalist party, to which Jefferson was opposed. As Jefferson used the adjective republican, he tended to give to it the meaning which is better expressed by the term democratic. Jefferson's Republican party was a party with strong democratic leanings.

Now the word democratic is made up of two Greek words, which mean people and power, and democratic government is one in which the people, not a few select, chosen persons, but the people as a whole, are the controlling power. A republic in which the power rests with a select group may be called an oligarchy, which means the rule of the few, but a republic in which the power genuinely rests with the body of the people is a democracy.

The Democratic Party.

After the War of 1812, the Federalist party declined in popularity. The party had been strongly opposed to the

war and it had not supported the national government as fully as many people thought it should have done. But a new party division soon took place, and then the names of the two parties were the terms that have just been discussed. In the political campaign of 1828, Andrew Jackson was the candidate for the presidency of the Democratic party, and John Quincy Adams was the candidate for reelection of the National Republican party.

But the word Republican had undergone a change, or perhaps one may say its Jeffersonian meaning had now been taken over by the term Democratic. For Jackson was regarded as the candidate of the people, whereas John Quincy Adams, the candidate of the National Republican party, was criticized as being an aristocrat, out of sympathy with the common people and out of sympathy with genuinely democratic government. In this campaign Jackson was elected, and in his election one may see an increasing development of feeling in America in favor of democracy.

At the end of his first term Jackson was reelected by the Democratic party, and during his second term the National Republicans gave up their older party name and took the name Whigs. For a number of years following, the Democrats and the Whigs were the two leading political parties, now one, now the other succeeding in electing its candidate for President.

As a result of the agitation over the question of slavery, however, a new party came into being which revived Jefferson's name, though not particularly his policies, and called itself the Republican party. Thus it was that in the great political contest which led up to the disaster of the American Civil War, the two parties in opposition bore again the names Republican and Democratic.

The Tariff.

There were other issues, however, than those which centered about the Civil War that divided the Republican and Democratic parties, and one of these was the question of tariff.

On this question of tariff, political parties in America have always taken opposing sides. A tariff is a tax laid by the government of the United States on goods brought from foreign countries and imported for sale and use in the United States. The main point of debate here is not whether the national government has the right to lay such a tariff, for it has been generally conceded from the beginning that it has, but rather what the purpose of the tariff shall be. On the one hand, the policy has been urged that a tariff should be levied on foreign goods only for the purpose of providing the government with revenue for carrying on its functions. "Tariff for revenue only" has been the slogan especially of the Democratic party.

Protective Tariff.

On the other side, the policy has been urged, especially by the Whig and Republican parties, that a tariff should be levied not only for revenue, but also for the protection of American industries. The advocates of a protective tariff have urged that the products of certain industries in America, especially undeveloped industries, cannot compete with goods manufactured abroad under more favorable circumstances unless the foreign goods are subjected to a tax or tariff high enough to force importers to sell them at a price which will give the American manufacturer or producer a chance to sell his American goods to advantage. As the infant American industries thus protected become

stronger and are able to produce their goods at a lower cost and thus to sell them at a lower price, the theory is that the amount of the protective tariff can be gradually reduced.

Both sides of this question have been elaborately discussed, and are still elaborately discussed at every presidential election. The principle of division of the political parties, however, is much the same as it always has been, the one party assuming that it is a proper function of the national government to take the part with its protective tariff of a benevolent father arranging circumstances so that the industries of the country that need protection can be carried on successfully, the other party, with its policy of tariff for revenue only, maintaining that the industries of the country will get along best of all if the general government does not meddle with them, even with the most benevolent of intentions.

States' Rights and Secession.

Still more important historically than the tariff were two other policies, the discussion of which was carried on almost from the beginning of the United States to the time when the final answer was given to these questions by the decision of arms in the Civil War. These two questions were not originally connected, though in the years preceding the Civil War they came to be so, and the Civil War gave the final answer to the one as to the other.

The first and older question concerned the rights and powers of the separate States in their relation to the general government of the United States. The question was one of State sovereignty as opposed to National sovereignty. More exactly, the point under debate was whether any individual State was compelled to obey the decrees of the

general government if it did not wish to do so, but on the contrary might nullify, that is, make inactive, a particular law of Congress by a contradictory law of the State's legislature. This was known as the right of nullification, or States' rights.

The acceptance of this policy of nullification implied that the powers of the general government were relatively slight and the powers of the several States relatively great. The adherents of the policy of nullification were opposed to the notion of a strong central government, with authority not only to make laws but to enforce them upon all citizens of the country. On the other hand, they favored increasing the power of the States, thus making the local forms of government stronger than the national forms. These States' rights policies, it will be seen, are more in harmony with the principles of the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian Democratic party than with the principles of the Federal and the later Whig and Republican parties.

The Right and Wrong of Secession.

Closely bound up with the doctrine of nullification and States' rights was the notion of the right of secession. Crudely phrased, the idea of the right of secession ran something like this: The United States was formed by the voluntary combination of a number of separate States. In joining the Union, the separate States did not give up their individuality. On the contrary, they expressly retained it, and just as they had voluntarily joined the Union, so when they deemed it advisable, they could fully claim again their independence and withdraw from the Union.

At first thought this argument for secession seems reasonable enough. If a State does not wish to remain in the Union, why should it be compelled to do so? Moreover, the argument gains somewhat in force through the fact that the Constitution of the United States nowhere rules in so many words, either in the body of the Constitution or in the Amendments, that the States shall not have the right of secession, and it does declare that all powers not expressly reserved to the general government remain with the States.

But the doctrine of secession is not quite so simple. On the one side, there is the matter of the wisdom of it. One might reasonably argue that if the States were allowed to secede, the chances are that they might do so for some comparatively slight reason, with the result that before long the United States would be broken up into a chaos of hostile and continually warring elements.

But aside from all considerations of expediency, it is not true that the Constitution in any way gives support to the doctrine of secession. The Constitution does not say specifically that States may not secede, but that would have been an unnecessary and foolish thing for it to have said. That the States in forming the Union were forming something permanent must be taken for granted. Moreover, the Constitution definitely provides that Congress shall have power to enforce the laws which it passes, and the President, as commander-in-chief of the army, by his oath of office to defend the Constitution, is compelled to use this army, when necessary, to secure obedience to the laws of the United States. Now secession from the United States could come about only as the consequence of disobedience to the laws,

or to certain laws, of the United States, and both neglect to obey and active violation of the law are definitely and expressly forbidden in the Constitution.

These are only a few of the leading arguments for and against secession which were brought forward by the advocates of one side and the other. The questions were debated at various times by some of the best minds in the United States, and Daniel Webster, the greatest orator the United States has produced, expended all the wealth of his eloquence in defense of the Union, "one and inseparable, now and forever." But the advocates of States' rights were also eloquent, and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Webster's great opponent in debate, presented the other side ably and in its best light. As in all great questions, something was to be said on both sides, though the verdict of history has been that secession was neither justifiable legally nor advisable practically.

Slavery.

The second great political question which finally was joined to the doctrines of nullification, State sovereignty and secession, was the question of slavery. This also was an old question. Slaves had been in existence in America almost from the beginnings of the colonies. They were never very numerous in the North, however, and always had been confined largely to the South, where slave labor was more useful and necessary. Even in the South, however, opposition to slavery arose at an early period. Thomas Jefferson was a Virginian and a slaveholder, but he was opposed to slavery and looked forward to the time when slavery should be abolished.

Later, however, and especially after the rise of the great

cotton plantations of the South, which could be conducted successfully, as it was thought, only with slave labor, slavery became so strongly established in the South that theories of its injustice weighed little against the profit and usefulness of it. Many of the northern States abolished slavery, but the southern States clung to it. When the Northwest Territory was organized, one of the conditions of the organization was that slavery should not be permitted therein, and slaves have never existed in the States formed from the Northwest Territory.

In politics the problem of slavery became acute when the question of admission of other western and southwestern States arose—States like Texas, Kansas, Nebraska and Missouri. The South wanted these States to be slave States in opposition to the North, the point being that so long as the States of the United States were evenly balanced between slave States and free States, the free States could not secure enough votes of the States to pass an amendment prohibiting slavery in the United States.

It is easy to see now why the question of slavery became entangled with the question of States' rights and secession. The slave States could forecast the time when they might be largely outnumbered by the northern and western free States. When that time should come, unless the right of the States to nullify the acts of the national government was allowed, or unless States were permitted to secede from the Union if they desired to do so, slavery in the United States would be at an end.

The Campaign of 1860.

This was the state of affairs when the most important presidential campaign in the history of the United States

took place. This was the campaign of 1860. Various persons and various policies came before the American public at this time, but the great issues were slavery and the preservation or destruction of the Union. The two great parties were the Democratic party and the Republican party. The Democratic party nominated Stephen A. Douglas for President, and the Republican party nominated Abraham Lincoln.

In his speech accepting the nomination of the Republican party, Lincoln made it quite clear that he would permit no division of the national supremacy of the United States, that in the end the States of the United States must either all become slave States or all become free States. There could be no doubt what this meant. The northern States would never become slave States, and therefore the only way to preserve the Union would be for the southern States to become free States. The campaign was bitterly fought, and as the result of it Abraham Lincoln was elected President.

It was a troubled time that lay before the new President. For now the old questions of slavery and State sovereignty, which for long had been discussed in vain in the legislative halls of the country, were to be taken from the platforms of peaceful debate to the bloody battlefields of the Civil War for decision. Of all the misfortunes that may befall a nation, war is one of the greatest, and of all wars, civil war is the most distressing. But out of the Civil War came the abolition of slavery, and out of it came also the binding of the States in a Union firm and unshakable forever.

XVII

THE CIVIL WAR

NEITHER the people of the North nor the people of the South realized in the year 1860 the terrible seriousness of the war upon which they were about to enter. If they had, perhaps the first steps would not have been taken, and the war might have been avoided.

The War Begins with Secession.

Open hostility between the North and the South may be said to have begun when on December 20, 1860, a convention in South Carolina, summoned by the legislature of that State, recalled the vote made in 1788 by which the State had ratified the Constitution of the United States. At the same time this convention declared that the State of South Carolina was once more a "free and independent nation."

This was secession. Within a short time six other southern States, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas, took similar action. These were later joined by Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas and North Carolina, making the number of seceding States eleven altogether.

The border States between the northern and southern States were Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri. In these States sentiment was about evenly divided between the North and the South, but none of these border States with-

drew from the Union. The remaining States all supported the cause of the Union, the number of Union States opposed to the seceding States being altogether twenty-two. Besides the three border States already mentioned, the Union States included all the New England States, all the Middle States, and Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Oregon and California. The rest of the United States was then still divided into Territories which had not been admitted as States and therefore had no votes in Congress.

The Confederate Constitution.

Soon after the first seven States had seceded, the delegates from these States met at Montgomery in Alabama and framed a Constitution for their new government. They called their organization the Confederate States of America, by which name they were distinguished from the United States of America. They adopted a flag of their own, and in general organized themselves as a separate government. The soldiers who fought in defense of this government were commonly called Confederates, and those who fought in defense of the United States were called Unionists.

The Constitution of the Confederate States differed from the Constitution of the United States mainly in that it provided expressly for those matters which were in dispute between the two governments. Thus it provided for the sovereignty of the States that had entered into the Confederation, and it confirmed slavery and the rights of property in slaves. It also forbade protective tariffs, and it made a number of minor alterations.

Under this Constitution the Confederate States elected Jefferson Davis as their President. According to the Confederate Constitution the term of office of the President was for six years, and he could not be reëlected. The term of office of the President according to the Constitution of the United States is four years, and he may be reëlected. As the Civil War came to an end before the six years' term of Jefferson Davis, he was the first and only President of the Confederate States.

Fort Sumter.

When the Confederate States seceded, one of the first things they did was to seize all the forts, arsenals and depots of supplies within their bounds. In this way an enormous amount of materials belonging to the United States fell into the hands of the Confederates. Several forts, however, with their garrisons, remained in the possession of Union troops. One of these was Fort Sumter, in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina. On the morning of April 12, in the year 1861, the cannon of the Confederates were turned upon Fort Sumter. For over a day the Union garrison sustained the attack, but the Confederate forces were greatly superior, and after a brave defense the garrison surrendered.

This was the opening battle of the war. The first shots had been fired. The flag of the United States and the soldiers of the United States had received the last treatment a nation can endure. Whatever the Confederates were, whether they were traitors and rebels or a people fighting for the rights of their own country, the duty of the United States was now clear. It must fight to protect its

people and to protect its honor. President Lincoln immediately called for seventy-five thousand volunteers. The Confederates likewise hastened their preparations. The capital of the Confederate States was at Richmond, in Virginia, and the cry of the Unionists now was, "On to Richmond." They saw a speedy capture of the Confederate capital, a conquest of the Confederate army, and the humble return of the rebellious Confederate States to the Union.

The First Battle of Bull Run.

The Union and the Confederate armies met on their first field on July 21, 1861, at a place in Virginia not far from Washington, called Manassas Junction. This place is on a little stream named Bull Run, and the battle fought here is sometimes called the Battle of Manassas Junction, or, more commonly, the First Battle of Bull Run, the first because later a second battle was fought on the banks of the same stream. The battle resulted in a complete victory for the Confederates. The Union army was not only defeated but it was broken up and driven back in a disgraceful panic to Washington.

The Confederates were elated by this success. They now thought victory would be easy. The Unionists, on the other hand, were aroused and made to realize that they had a serious undertaking on their hands. The First Battle of Bull Run decided nothing, except that the war was not to be ended at once and by a few poorly supplied and badly disciplined volunteers. Both Confederates and Unionists now settled down to the stern task of preparing for a war that might last for a long time, though no one even then foresaw that it would last four long, weary years.

The Campaigns of the War.

The fighting of the Civil War may be considered in three main divisions. These are, first, the campaigns of the West, second, naval campaigns, and third, the campaigns of the East. It was by the campaigns of the East that the war was finally decided and brought to an end. But the two other sets of campaigns were also important, and will be described first. As the Union armies were assuming the offensive in the war and were invading the territory of their enemy, these campaigns will be described from the Union point of view.

General Grant and the Western Campaign.

The chief purpose of the Union campaign in the West was to secure possession of the Mississippi river. If the Unionists should do this, they could separate Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas from the rest of the Confederate States and thus practically remove them from further participation in the war.

The campaign was begun on land when the Union armies moved down through western Kentucky and Tennessee. Various minor battles were fought, but the first great battle of the campaign was the Battle of Shiloh, April 6 and 7, 1862. The Union army was commanded by General Ulysses Simpson Grant, and the Confederate army by General Albert Sidney Johnston. It was a bloody battle, the number of killed and wounded on both sides being nearly twenty thousand. The Confederate general himself was killed, and after severe fighting, the Confederate army was defeated.

As a result of this Union victory, the Union army gained control of Memphis on the Mississippi river, leaving only

two important defended places on the river, Vicksburg and New Orleans, in the hands of the Confederates. Of these two, New Orleans was the first to fall. It was attacked and captured by Admiral Farragut in this same month of April, 1862, and thus the largest and most important of the Confederate seaports was brought under Union control.

The Fall of Vicksburg.

The reduction of Vicksburg took more time. This was a very important position to the Confederates and they defended it long and courageously. It was important to them because the supplies they drew from the West, from Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, as well as smuggled ammunition and arms from Mexico, were taken across the river here and transported to the armies of the East.

In conjunction with others, General Grant began operations against Vicksburg in April, 1863. For over two months the city of Vicksburg was besieged. The Union forces surrounded the city both on land and on the waters of the Mississippi. Besides the citizens of the town, a large Confederate army was shut up in Vicksburg. The Confederates made a brave and stubborn defense, and only when they were on the verge of starvation did they surrender, on July 4, 1863.

An army of over thirty thousand Confederates surrendered at Vicksburg. With the fall of Vicksburg, the Unionists gained complete control of the Mississippi river, and their gunboats on the river thereafter prevented any men or supplies from the Confederate States west of the Mississippi from crossing the river. The winning of the Mississippi was a great gain for the Unionists and a correspondingly great loss for the Confederates.

THE CIVIL WAR



THE UNION

THE CONTEST
FOR THE CAPITOL

WASHINGTON

RICHMOND

GRANT DIVIDES THE SOUTH E. and W.

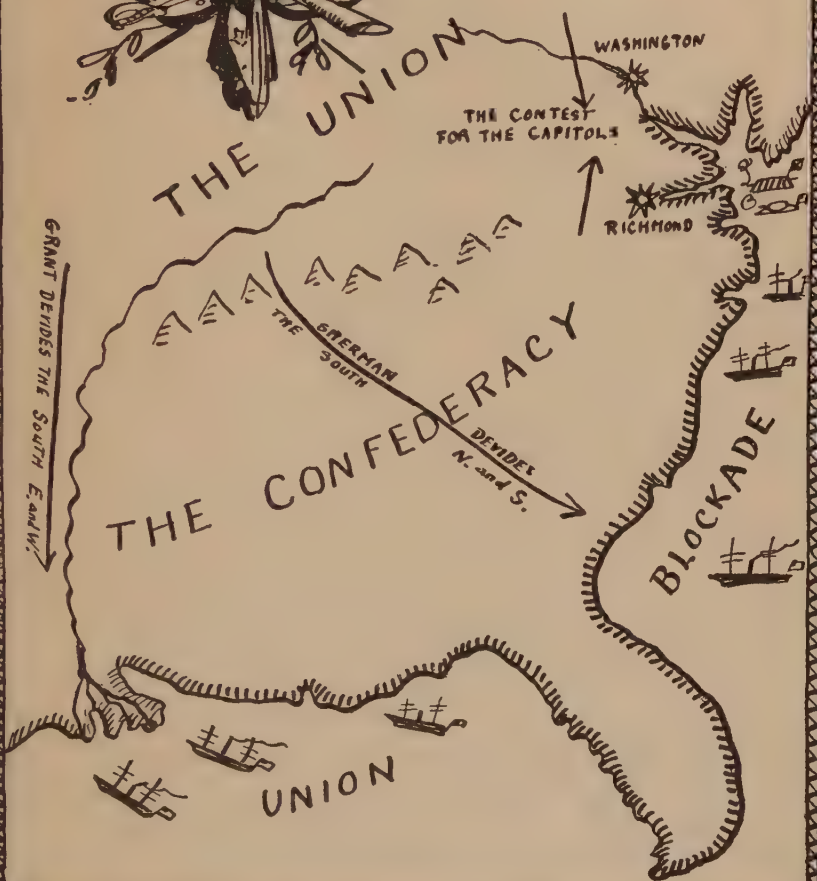
THE CONFEDERACY

THE SHERMAN
SOUTH

DIVIDES
N. and S.

BLOCKADE

UNION



Having closed the Mississippi, the western forces now turned their attention to the valley of the Tennessee river on the northern border of Alabama and Georgia. Here a great battle was fought on November 23, 24 and 25, 1863, at Chattanooga. It is often referred to as the Battle in the Clouds because it took place in the mists on Lookout Mountain and other mountain heights surrounding Chattanooga. General Grant was again in command, and the result of the campaign was another complete victory for the Union army.

The Battle of Chattanooga was the last big battle between the Confederate and Union forces in the West. If the war could have been decided by these western campaigns, it would now have been at an end. But there was still much bitter fighting to come in the East before the end was in sight. In the Union army, undoubtedly the greatest general who had appeared during the western campaigns was General Grant. And it was General Grant who was later to lead the eastern branch of the Union army to final victory.

The Naval Battles of the War.

Though not as important as the land campaigns, the naval engagements of the Civil War were numerous and thrilling. As soon as the war began, President Davis of the Confederate States offered letters of marque to Confederate vessels, permitting them to capture merchant vessels sailing from Union ports. In return President Lincoln declared a blockade of all the Confederate States. No one was allowed to buy anything from the Confederates or sell anything to the Confederates, and all the Confederate seaports were guarded by Union warships, so that no

vessels could enter or leave them, except such as were willing to run the risk of capture. Those Confederate vessels that did take the risk were called blockade runners, but after the Union fleets were fully organized, not many blockade runners succeeded in getting by them.

The blockade was a great inconvenience to the Confederate States, for they could neither export their cotton, on the sale of which they depended mainly for money, nor import ammunition, arms and other supplies. As the southern States had not been to any great extent manufacturing States before the war began, they were now compelled to establish mills, factories and foundries of their own quickly and at great cost of labor and money.

A good part of the naval warfare of the Civil War was fought on the Mississippi river. With the aid of his fleet of gunboats, Admiral Farragut in April, 1862, captured New Orleans and destroyed the Confederate fleet of river warships. After the fall of Vicksburg, the Union army kept a strong force of gunboats patrolling the river to prevent communication between the Confederate States on the two sides of the river, but there was then little need for further fighting.

The Monitor and the Merrimac.

The most novel sea battle of the war was fought off the coast of Virginia on March 8 and 9, 1862. On the first of these two days, the Confederates appeared with a new kind of warship. This was an old vessel, originally named the *Merrimac*, but renamed the *Virginia* by the Confederates, the sides of which had been covered by the Confederates with iron plates. Warships had hitherto been made of wood, and this new ironclad had a great advantage over the

wooden ships of the Union navy. On the first day of this engagement, the *Merrimac* sank two vessels, counted among the best in the Union fleet. The Union wooden ships were outclassed by the Confederate ironclad.

By the greatest good luck, however, the Union fleet was also strengthened just at this time by the arrival of a new and still different kind of fighting vessel. This was the *Monitor*, built with a deck so low that very little of the deck appeared above the water to offer a mark for the enemy's guns. But on this deck was the fighting part of the *Monitor's* equipment. This consisted of an iron-protected turret or tower, which contained two powerful guns, and which could be revolved by machinery.

The *Monitor* was not inaptly described as a Yankee cheese box on a raft. But the cheese box, with its metal coat and its revolving guns, was at least a fair match for the *Merrimac*. It prevented further loss on the Union side, though the *Merrimac* was not captured or destroyed. She was indeed sunk by the Confederates themselves, several months later, to prevent her falling into the hands of the Unionists when they captured Norfolk. The duel between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* showed that the day of the wooden ship, Union or Confederate, was over and that the day of the armored or ironclad ship had come. The revolving turret of the *Monitor*, which was designed by a Swedish engineer, John Ericsson, also became a regular part of warships built thereafter.

The Alabama and the Kearsarge.

Another famous naval battle of the Civil War was the fight between the Confederate cruiser the *Alabama* and the Union ship the *Kearsarge*. This battle took place off the

coast of France on June 19, 1864, and it came to an end when, after about an hour's fighting, the *Alabama* was defeated and sunk. For two years the *Alabama* had been ranging the seas, destroying Unionist merchant ships wherever they were found. The Union warships could not retaliate in kind, because the Confederates had no naval commerce to destroy, or such as they had was shut up in southern ports by the Union blockade.

The *Alabama*, when she started out, had not sailed from a southern port. She had been built in England, and had been allowed to sail from England, presumably with full knowledge on the part of the English government of the use she was to be put to. Nor was the *Alabama* the only Confederate warship that found its way to the open ocean in this manner. England was officially neutral in this war, but to allow one of two warring factions thus to build ships and to use them was practically to become an ally of the side thus favored.

The representatives of the United States in England made repeated protests against these actions on the part of England, but no heed was paid to the protests until the latter part of the year 1863, by which time the Union armies had won victories which made it seem likely that theirs, and not the Confederate side, was to be the winning side. After the war was over, the claims of the United States for the damage done by the *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers built in England were submitted in 1871, by agreement between England and the United States, to an impartial committee for arbitration. This committee awarded fifteen million dollars to the United States, on the ground that England had not performed the duty of a neutral nation to ex-

ercise "due diligence" in preventing aid being given to one of two nations at war with each other.

The War in the East.

On the whole the campaigns in the West and on the water had gone well for the Union side. The Union army had suffered no serious defeats in the West, and within a year or so after the opening of the war, the Union blockade of the South was almost complete. But the war was not to be immediately settled in the West and on the water. The important battlefields were those of the East, and on these fields the Union army made little progress. In the first general engagement of the war, the Battle of Manassas Junction, or the First Battle of Bull Run, the northern army, as has been related, was defeated and ingloriously put to flight. But the Unionists at once set to work to increase their army, to drill it and equip it thoroughly. The real fighting of the eastern campaigns was to come after this first battle.

When the eastern Union army was again ready to take the field, it was put under the command of General George B. McClellan, who planned to attack Richmond by proceeding up the valley of the York River, past Yorktown, where Cornwallis had surrendered to Washington. The campaign started well, but when McClellan at last reached Richmond, he hesitated and delayed to attack, until the Confederates themselves took the offensive and attacked him. McClellan's army was much larger than the Confederate army, but nevertheless he ordered a retreat, and in the end this campaign was given up without accomplishing the object for which it was begun.

The next attempt of the Union army, now commanded by General John Pope, was to move upon Richmond from the other direction. Before they arrived near the city, however, the Unionists were met by the Confederate forces, under the command of the greatest of the Confederate generals, Robert E. Lee. The two armies met at Bull Run, on August 29-30, 1862, and at this Second Battle of Bull Run the Union army was again defeated.

General Lee then determined to carry the war out of Virginia and into the territory of the United States. He hastened northward, but he was met by the Union army, once again under General McClellan, on September 17, 1862, at a place in Maryland called Sharpsburg on Antietam Creek. General Lee was defeated in a terrible battle that cost the lives of thousands of brave soldiers on either side. After the Battle of Antietam the Confederates retreated unmolested to Virginia and entrenched themselves at Fredericksburg on the Rappahannock river.

General McClellan was much criticized for not following up the victory at Antietam by pursuing the Confederates at once, and he was now replaced in command by General Burnside. The Union army, under General Burnside, attacked the Confederate army at Fredericksburg under General Lee, on December 13, 1862, and suffered a defeat, appalling in the loss of life and the suffering that accompanied it.

General Burnside was now replaced by General Hooker, and in the spring General Hooker was ready to try his fortunes against the Confederate army. The battle took place at Chancellorsville, not far from Fredericksburg, May 2-5, 1863, and again the Union army was disastrously defeated.

But though the Confederates won the Battle of Chan-

cellorsville, they lost in it one of their ablest generals. This was General Thomas J. Jackson, known as Stonewall Jackson from his firmness and fearlessness. In the dusk of the evening, Stonewall Jackson was fired upon through mistake by his own men, and to the great grief of all admirers of soldierly courage and genius, he died of his wounds within a few hours.

The Battle of Gettysburg.

After this series of victories, the Confederate army was now once more ready to try to carry the war into the North. Hitherto all the fighting, except at Antietam, had taken place on the soil of the seceding States, and the Confederates were eager to give the northerners a taste of the hardships and losses they had suffered in their very homes.

General Lee now got his army of seventy-five thousand men ready and moved northward across the Potomac. His plan was not to attack Washington, which was too well defended, but to proceed further north into Pennsylvania, reaching Harrisburg, or perhaps even Philadelphia. One section of Lee's army did almost reach Harrisburg, but before it could do any damage to the city, it was recalled to join the main body of the Confederate army.

The reason for this recall was that the Confederate army and the Union army, now commanded by General George Meade, were about to confront each other at Gettysburg, in Pennsylvania. The two armies met, and the fighting began on July 1, 1863. For three days the roar and tumult of battle continued. It was a battle in which the greatest courage and endurance were shown on both sides, but at the end of the third day of fighting, it became plain to the Confederates that they could not win the battle. General Lee

commanded a retreat and the Battle of Gettysburg, the most important battle of the Civil War, ended in a complete victory for the Union army. The Confederate army, weary, bedraggled, no bands playing, but the groans of the uncared-for wounded filling the air, dragged itself back to Virginia.

General Meade failed to follow in pursuit, though if he had, it is not improbable that he could have captured General Lee's army and thus at once have ended the war. On the other hand, it is more than probable that if the Confederates had won the battle of Gettysburg, the war would have ended with a Confederate victory. The northern States were greatly discouraged by the succession of defeats which the Union armies had sustained in the South, there was among them considerable difference of opinion on the very questions at issue in the war, and a great deal of dissatisfaction was felt at this time with President Lincoln and his administration because the war had not been brought to a speedy close. Another defeat at Gettysburg might well have been the last straw and might have forced the United States to give up the war in defeat. Coming at the same time as other successes in the West, however, the result at Gettysburg gave the Unionists new courage, and indeed assured them that with patience the final victory must come to them.

General Grant in Command.

After Gettysburg, both Union and Confederate armies remained comparatively inactive for a time. When fighting began again, the eastern Union army had another new commander. This was Ulysses S. Grant, who by his victories at Vicksburg, Chattanooga and other places in the

West had inspired the North with confidence that in the East also he could lead their armies on to victory.

Grant planned an extensive campaign in several parts. He himself, with an army of over one hundred thousand, crossed the Rapidan river into Virginia at a place not far from that at which the Battles of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville had been fought. Grant's purpose was to capture Richmond, but between him and Richmond lay the Confederate army, and likewise a rough, wooded region known as the Wilderness. The fighting which took place here in the early summer of 1864 is known as the Battle of the Wilderness. It was hard fighting, but it resulted in no great gains for either side. The Confederates were resisting stubbornly and bravely. They knew they were making their last stand. But in spite of their greater strength, the Union forces made little headway. Grant was not discouraged, however, and declared that he "would fight it out on this line if it took all summer."

It did take all summer, and more, for at the end of the summer the Confederate army was still undefeated. The campaign had been costly, both in men and money, and the people of the North were again in a despairing mood. They were enheartened, however, by the brilliant campaign of General William Tecumseh Sherman, who marched across the State of Georgia, capturing Atlanta, where much of the Confederate munitions and supplies was manufactured, and also Savannah, a few days before Christmas in December, 1864. A part of Sherman's purpose in this march from Atlanta to the sea was to destroy southern sources of supply in order to weaken the Confederate army. By Sherman's own estimate, the damage done to the State of Georgia amounted to one hundred million dollars, ninety millions of

which at least was "simply waste and destruction." It was not wanton waste, however, but was designed so to cripple the Confederate army as to make it incapable of further fighting.

The End of the War.

The final campaign of the war took place in the spring of 1865. General Grant had been besieging Petersburg and Richmond in Virginia since the preceding summer. In the early days of April, 1865, Petersburg was captured by the Union forces, and immediately afterward Richmond was occupied. General Lee attempted to lead his army away westward, but he was soon cut off from all the sources of his supplies by the Union army. On April 9, 1865, at Appomattox Court House in Virginia, he surrendered to General Grant. Shortly afterward the only other active branch of the Confederate army surrendered to General Sherman.

The end of the war had come, not strikingly and dramatically in a great battle, but quietly and resignedly. The Confederates were worn out, they had neither supplies, men, nor heart to continue. Their generals accepted the situation as it was, and in order not to cause unnecessary bloodshed, they surrendered without further fighting. Their armies disbanded and their weary soldiers betook themselves to their homes, if they still had any. But the homes of many of them lay in ashes. The scourge of war had passed over some of the fairest regions of the South, leaving behind only blackened ruins, and weedy fields plowed only by the cannon. The war was ended, but both on the South and the North the burdens of war weighed heavily as each took up again the tasks of peaceful living.

Results of the Civil War.

A bare chronicle of battles and campaigns such as has been given in this chapter can convey no notion of the real nature of war. No words of any kind can tell the dreadful hardships and sufferings, on the march, on the battlefield, in the hospitals and field tents after the battle is over, which must be endured by the soldiers who do the fighting in a war. And the soldiers are not the only sufferers. At home fathers and mothers, wives and children, labor in dread and longing to keep the army supplied, to learn in the end only too often that their dear ones will never return to them.

On the other hand, words cannot tell the courage and resolution that go to the fighting of a great war. Words cannot tell the high purposes which alone can sustain courage, or the steadiness of will and the patient industry which alone can carry out great campaigns. These must be counted among the gains that offset the losses of war. Among the gains of the Civil War must be counted also the two ideas that issued clear from it: the idea that slaves cannot exist in the United States, and the idea that the United States and the people of the United States are a nation single and indivisible.

Still one other gain, not less great, issued from the Civil War. This gain was a great personality. As in the time of the Revolution the character of Washington provided a center about which the loyalties and aspirations of the American people could cluster, so also the Civil War brought forth a man, a national hero, never to be forgotten so long as the American republic shall endure. This man was Abraham Lincoln. He was not a general fighting on the field of battle. Not a single shot from a musket in his hands was fired at the enemy during the war. Abraham

Lincoln was something more than a soldier. He was indeed the Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the United States. But he was something more than that. He was the living heart and soul of the American people in this dark period. To understand the Civil War, it is necessary to know something more than campaigns and fields of battle. It is necessary to know Abraham Lincoln.



XVIII

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

ABRAHAM LINCOLN was a pioneer country boy. He was born in the woods of Kentucky on his father's rough farm in one of the northwestern counties of that State. The day was February 12, and the year was 1809.

Life on the Frontier.

Kentucky at that time was still on the frontier. The days of Indian fighting were over, but by no means forgotten. Lincoln's grandfather was shot dead by an Indian in ambush while he and Lincoln's father, then a boy, were working in the fields together.

There were few comforts and no luxuries in Lincoln's early life. The house in which he was born had but one room, and that not much more than a dozen feet square. It had no floor except the earth upon which it was built. It hardly deserved to be called a house, being in truth no more than a hut.

Lincoln's father, whose name was Thomas, had two occupations, though he prospered in neither. He was a carpenter as well as a farmer. According to his neighbors, Thomas Lincoln thought more of having a good time than of attending either to his farming or his carpentering. Whatever the reason may have been, the Lincolns were always very poor.

When Lincoln was seven years old, in search of better

luck his father emigrated from Kentucky to Indiana, to another farm lying near Little Pigeon Creek, a few miles north of the Ohio river. Thomas Lincoln started again to build a habitation out of the trees of the forest and to clear new fields for the planting of his corn. In these tasks, the boy Abe took a hand. Though only seven, he could already swing an axe, and father and son together soon put up a kind of shed, made of trimmed poles, which the family occupied for a whole year. This shed had only three sides, like a hunter's camp in the woods, and the family lived therefore practically in the open air, winter as well as summer, until a regular log cabin with four sides could be built. But the new cabin also had only one room, and no windows, doors or floor, though it had a little upper part where Abe slept. This attic or loft was not reached by stairs, but by climbing up on wooden pegs driven into the logs that made the side of the cabin. In this loft Abe had his bed of leaves, and his coverings were fashioned from the skins of animals. The rest of the family, consisting of his father, mother and older sister, slept in the room of the cabin on rude beds made of poles.

Lincoln at School.

It was during these days in Indiana that Lincoln began his education. His father had no learning and could barely scratch his name plainly enough to be read. And what he did not have himself, Thomas Lincoln apparently thought his son would not need. He made little or no effort to send Lincoln to school, but instead kept him at home to work for him or hired him out to work for others.

Lincoln did manage to attend school for short periods, however, though he once estimated that all his schooling put

together amounted to about one year. But he was ambitious. He wanted to learn, and he did learn to read, to write and to use figures. He read everything that came his way, though this was not much, for books were scarce. He knew the Bible and read it, and by the time he was fourteen he had come across and read thoroughly *Æsop's Fables*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Pilgrim's Progress*, a history of the United States, and a life of George Washington. As most of his days were spent at work, his reading was often done at night by the light of the blazing logs in the cabin fireplace. He exercised himself in writing and figuring also, and to save paper, which was expensive and hard to get, he used pieces of board shaved clean and smooth. When he had written a board full, he could shave it off and start over again.

During his short experience in school, Lincoln became interested in public speaking. He delivered various speeches before his schoolmates, and thus began the study of an art of which he later became a master. Throughout his youth, Lincoln was fond of speechifying, and after he became active in politics, he acquired a wide reputation in his community as a stump orator. Still later, when he became a leading figure in national politics, Lincoln made many notable speeches, among them several that rank with the world's greatest orations.

Country Work and Country Play.

Lincoln's occupations in his youth were those which ordinarily fell to the lot of the frontier farmer. He chopped down trees to clear the land, and he split the fallen logs to make rails with which to fence the fields after they were cleared. He plowed and planted and harvested, as all

farmers' sons must do. For his pastimes he joined in the few amusements which a thinly settled country region affords. There were log-rollings and house-raisings in which the whole community participated, spelling bees, sermons and suchlike occasions at the schoolhouse, now and then a wedding or other celebration at which a dinner, games, jokes and tricks were enjoyed by the guests.

Lincoln was a strong and tall fellow, especially skillful at wrestling. He became something of a local champion, and at neighborhood gatherings he was frequently pitted against the celebrity from some other neighborhood. In appearance, he was lanky and raw-boned. He had a sallow complexion and a heavy mop of black hair. His clothing was of the coarsest home manufacture, and altogether it would have taken courage for anyone at that time to prophesy that this rough child of the frontier was destined to become the first citizen of a great nation and one among the few greatest leaders of mankind in the history of the world. Probably no one made such a prophecy, for Lincoln as yet had done nothing remarkable.

Just before Lincoln was twenty-one, his father again pulled up stakes and moved from Indiana to Illinois. The journey was made by wagon with a team of four oxen. Before setting out on this journey, Lincoln invested all his capital, about thirty dollars, in a miscellaneous assortment of needles, thread, pins, buttons and other small articles, which he planned to sell at the various houses passed on the way. By the time the movers reached their stopping place, near Decatur in Illinois, Lincoln had doubled the amount of his original investment through the sale of his merchandise.

To New Orleans and Back.

Having attained his majority, Lincoln was now his own master, ready and able to look out for himself. His first enterprise was a voyage down the Sangamon river in Illinois, a tributary of the Mississippi, and then down the Mississippi to New Orleans. Together with two other men, Lincoln was engaged by a merchant to convey a boatload of country products from Illinois to New Orleans, where the merchandise was to be sold.

Before they could begin their voyage, however, the three men had to build their boat, which they did in three or four weeks' time. The venturesome and exciting voyage was safely made, and at the end of it Lincoln spent several weeks in New Orleans. While he was in New Orleans, Lincoln for the first time saw a slave put up for auction. He had lived all his life in communities in which slaves were present, but he was filled with indignation when a Negro girl, offered for sale, was pinched and made to trot up and down like a horse to show that she was sound of limb.

Life in New Salem.

After his return from New Orleans, Lincoln added himself to the population of the little village of New Salem, in Illinois. Here he taught school for a while, clerked in a general store, engaged in wrestling bouts with various champions, studied grammar, mathematics and other books, and talked politics with anybody who happened along. He became a local character, popular because of his honesty and good humor, and admired for his sound sense and for his ability to say what he wanted to say clearly and forcibly.

At New Salem he made his first step into politics when he became a candidate for election to the legislature of Illinois. In a public letter which he issued at this time, Lincoln remarked that he was born and had always remained "in the most humble walks of life," that he had "no wealthy or popular relations or friends" to recommend him, and that he was making his appeal for election to "the independent voters of the country." But the independent voters, if there were any, did not respond numerous enough to this call to elect Lincoln.

His next venture was a surprising one for Lincoln. But apparently because he had nothing else to do at the time, he enlisted as a volunteer in a campaign against a band of Indians, about five hundred strong, who had marched over into Illinois under the leadership of their chief, Black Hawk. Lincoln was chosen captain by his company, of which commission he was proud, but he was not present at any of the fighting with the Indians. After a couple of months' service, Lincoln's company was disbanded, and thus ended his first and only experience as a soldier. This was the summer of 1832, when Lincoln was twenty-three years old.

On his return to New Salem from this little Black Hawk War, Lincoln again became a candidate for election to the legislature of Illinois, and again he was defeated. The two leading political parties at that time were the Whig and Democratic parties. The locality in which Lincoln stood as a candidate was strongly Democratic, but Lincoln was on the opposing side and perhaps he did not expect to be elected. He gained experience in the campaign, however, in making public speeches and in the practical management of politics.

Berry and Lincoln, Storekeepers.

After this second repulse in politics, once again Lincoln was driven back upon business. This time he made a partnership with a man named Berry, and they two together became proprietors of a general store in New Salem. But the business did not thrive. Lincoln's partner was not a good business man, and Lincoln himself was interested in too many other things to make a good storekeeper. To help out, Lincoln became postmaster of the village of New Salem, and also worked at rail-splitting and other jobs.

A Lucky Find.

But his most important work at this time was neither rail-splitting nor storekeeping. It was reading law. Lincoln himself has told how he came across *Blackstone's Commentaries*, the great textbook which all law students must study. "One day," says Lincoln, "a man who was migrating to the West drove up in front of my store with a wagon which contained his family and household plunder. He asked me if I would buy an old barrel for which he had no room in his wagon, and which he said contained nothing of special value. I did not want it, but to oblige him I bought it, and paid him, I think, half a dollar for it. Without further examination I put it away in the store, and forgot all about it. Some time after, in overhauling things, I came upon the barrel, and emptying it upon the floor to see what it contained, I found at the bottom of the rubbish a complete edition of *Blackstone's Commentaries*. I began to read these famous works, and I had plenty of time; for during the long summer days, when the farmers were busy with their crops, my customers were few and far between. The more I read,

the more intensely interested I became. Never in my whole life was my mind so thoroughly absorbed. I read until I devoured them."

The finding of this book compensated Lincoln for the little profit of his business on the commercial side. He read *Blackstone's Commentaries* until he had completely devoured them. But he did more. He digested them and grew on them. This close contact of Lincoln's mind with another great mind changed him entirely. It is in this way that great minds grow, and lucky is the seeker after knowledge if he happens upon the right guide, as Lincoln did, in his hour of need.

Studying law, however, did not help the affairs of Berry and Lincoln's store, which still failed to prosper. The partners were getting deeply into debt, and in order not to become further involved, in 1834 they sold the store on credit. The new owners soon went into bankruptcy without paying the purchase price, and as Berry died soon after, the heavy debts of the firm all fell on Lincoln's shoulders. For many years after, in the struggling days of his early professional career, Lincoln bore this burden of debt, paying it off slowly and gradually until every last cent was paid. This was Lincoln's final venture in business. His heart did not lead him in that direction, and his unsuccessful attempts are such as almost every young man must experience before he finds his true calling.

Land Surveying.

Before the final break-up of the business partnership, Lincoln had already entered upon a new activity. He had been offered a position as surveyor in Sangamon County, in Illinois, and though he then knew nothing about survey-

ing, he at once secured the necessary books, set to work, and after a month or more of study, he qualified for the place. This position was a great help to Lincoln. It gave him a fixed income when he greatly needed it, and it left him enough time to carry on his law studies.

In the campaign of 1834, Lincoln again became a candidate for the Illinois legislature, this time as a member from Sangamon County, and once again as a Whig. He made many speeches, and in the voting of that fall he was elected as one of the four assemblymen from Sangamon County. Among these four he received next to the highest number of votes, and he was next to the youngest member of the legislature.

From this time on, surveying, business and other activities fall into the background in Lincoln's life, and law and politics take the leading places. He was a member in several different law partnerships at different times. As soon as he was regularly admitted to the practice of the law, Lincoln settled at Springfield, Illinois, the capital of the State. This became the permanent home of his manhood years. It was in Springfield that the opportunities of life were opened to him, and here he built the structure of his later successes. He practiced law, engaged in politics, and was married in Springfield. He made many friends, for everybody liked his simplicity, his honesty of thinking, his plain speaking, his gift of humorous story-telling and his unfailing kindness of heart. In politics he was definitely a Whig, favoring a protective tariff, a sovereign federal government, and restriction of slavery with the prospect of finally doing away with slavery altogether in the United States.

In the campaign of 1846, Lincoln was a candidate for election to the House of Representatives of Congress. He

had been a candidate once before, and had been defeated. But now he was elected, one of only two Whig representatives from Illinois, all the rest being Democrats. Lincoln now moved to Washington, where he must have learned much about the men and the methods of the national government. After his term at Washington, however, he returned to his law practice. The political issues in which Lincoln was to be leader were not then to the front, though they were soon to be. When the time came, it was as one long experienced in the ways of politics that Lincoln took the leadership of his party. From the first years of his manhood he had been interested in politics and all questions of government, not merely to talk about them, but as one taking an active part in them.

Lincoln and the Republican Party.

Lincoln's importance in the field of national politics came with the changing of the older Whig into the newer Republican party, and with the accompanying change of emphasis on policies. These policies centered about the question of slavery, and on this question Lincoln's opinions and feelings had long been clear. As a matter of personal conviction, Lincoln was opposed to slavery. He believed it to be wrong and he thought the slaves ought to be free. But these personal convictions were not allowed to determine in Lincoln's mind what the United States government should and could legally do in the matter of slavery. The duty of the government and of every citizen of the United States, Lincoln maintained, was to abide by and to defend the provisions of the Constitution with respect to slavery, so long as those provisions remained as they were, and to act contrary to the rulings as they then existed in the Constitu-

tion only after the Constitution had been amended in such a way as to authorize contrary action. On the moral side, Lincoln was convinced that slavery was wrong. But he insisted that moral justice did not countenance violation of the law, though it might indicate the direction in which the law should be changed.

Now the Democratic party at this time was supporting the doctrine that the Congress of the United States had no authority under the Constitution to legislate with respect to slavery in any Territory or any State of the United States, but that the people of the several Territories and States were left free to regulate slavery as they saw fit. The Republican party, on the other hand, maintained the right of Congress to regulate slavery in the Territories of the United States as being public domain, and thus to forbid, if Congress thought it advisable to do so, the extension of slavery into any newly organized Territories. As to those States in the South in which slavery had been long established, the Republican party took the position that the Constitution did not authorize the Congress of the United States to abolish slavery, but that such action, if it were taken under the existing circumstances, must be taken by the slave States themselves.

These were the immediate questions in debate between the Republican and Democratic parties, though back of them, everybody felt, lay the still greater questions whether the southern States and the Democratic party would not try in time to force slavery upon the North, or whether the northern States and the Republican party would not attempt in time to force the abolition of slavery altogether upon the South. These were fears for the future, however, rather than practical political issues of the moment.

Lincoln in the Senate.

It was in this state of affairs that Lincoln was nominated by the Republican party of Illinois in 1858 as candidate for election to the Senate of the United States. And it was on a platform of outspoken anti-slavery feeling that Lincoln was elected to this high office. In his speech acknowledging the nomination, Lincoln stated his views fearlessly. He pointed out that agitation over the question of slavery had been going on for a long time, and that no end was in sight. But an end must come, though not, he declared, "until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South."

Here, in briefest terms and without shadow of doubt as to its meaning, was Lincoln's position. No one could suppose that the second of his possibilities would ever come to pass, that the northern States would legalize and approve slavery as the South was doing. There remained only the other line of action, which was for Congress to forbid the spread of slavery into any of the new Territories over which Congress exerted control, with the further prospect that at the proper time the proper legal means would be provided under the Constitution for the lawful abolition of slavery

everywhere in the United States, on every foot of the soil of the United States.

Lincoln's Speeches.

This great question Lincoln debated before large audiences with Stephen A. Douglas, known as the Little Giant, and famous for his learning and eloquence. Douglas was the defender of the Democratic policies which, though they did not definitely approve slavery, were designed to secure the favor and the votes of slave-holding communities. The result of the Lincoln-Douglas debates was to place Lincoln in the front as the ablest defender of Republican principles in the party.

In February, 1859, Lincoln delivered a famous speech at Cooper Union, in New York, which further strengthened his political standing. It was a serious, steady, carefully thought-out and restrained expression of his convictions. Before this, Lincoln had been heard of in the East as a popular western stump orator, but the easterners were inclined to think of him as a rough and uncouth frontiersman, not to be considered seriously from the point of view of national politics. After the Cooper Union speech, and other speeches in New England, eastern opinion changed. In the East also Lincoln was recognized as a man of great power, an orator who supported his speechifying with a powerful mind and a deep realization of the truth of the principles which he was defending. Lincoln said later that his Cooper Union speech made him President. Of course no single speech could do that, but probably what he meant was that this speech convinced the East, and especially New England, without the support of which no Republican

candidate could have been elected, that Lincoln was possible as a candidate for the presidency.

The Election to the Presidency.

When the Republican convention for nominating candidates for the presidency met in Chicago in 1860, there was much uncertainty who would be nominated. Lincoln was well known and some of his friends were agreed to propose him as a candidate, but there were other distinguished Republicans, older, more experienced and with more influential friends than Lincoln. After several ballots had been taken, however, it was found that Lincoln was so far in the lead that the nomination was made unanimous. Thus Honest Abe, the Rail-splitter, became the nominee of a strong political party for the highest office in the land. The Democratic party divided into two factions, fortunately for the Republicans, the northern branch nominating Lincoln's old opponent, Stephen A. Douglas, and the southern branch nominating John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky.

The campaign which followed was marked by much violence and bitterness of feeling. On the one side the extreme opponents of slavery objected to Lincoln because he had not come out for immediate and complete abolition of slavery. But this Lincoln would not do because he believed that the Constitution of the United States did not warrant such action and he was willing to go no further than the Constitution permitted. On the other hand, the friends of slavery thought that Lincoln went altogether too far in the direction of the abolition of slavery. Some of his more cautious advisers counseled Lincoln to soften his

statements with respect to slavery. They agreed that Lincoln's views were right, but they thought that Lincoln might get more votes if he would smooth them over a little. But never for a moment did Lincoln permit anyone to believe that he approved of slavery, or that he would consent that the southern States should peaceably secede from the United States, or in any way violate the laws of the United States, in order to maintain slavery.

Despite all these fears and hostilities, however, when the votes were counted it was found that Lincoln was very safely elected. In the popular vote he received nearly five hundred thousand more votes than Douglas, the candidate who stood next to him. Of the total three hundred and three electoral votes, Lincoln received one hundred and eighty. When the country was fairly confronted with the question of approving or condemning slavery, it put itself without hesitation on the side of Lincoln and the right.

The election of Lincoln was equivalent to saying that slavery in the United States must in due season come to an end. The South took the election to mean this, and the slave-holding States were now confronted with the prospect of accepting this as the expression of the will of the people of the United States. But that was the question—would they accept this decision? Or would they carry out the threat which they frequently had made of withdrawing from the Union if slavery were interfered with?

Lincoln Was Not a War Candidate.

Though everybody knew that the differences of opinion on the question of slavery and of secession were great throughout the country when Lincoln was elected Presi-

dent, no one knew that these differences were soon to lead to open warfare between the North and the South. Lincoln was not elected as a war candidate. Nothing was further from his thoughts than the notion of settling the questions of slavery by violence. He believed that these questions could be and would be settled by the peaceful processes of law and order. In spite of himself, however, Lincoln found himself, and the nation found itself, hurried along in the direction of civil conflict. Even before Lincoln was inaugurated, the southern States began to secede and to take possession of all federal forts, arsenals and other national property within their limits.

Upon his inauguration Lincoln took up the government of a country already at war with itself. In his inaugural address he dwelt on the ideas that he had so often expressed before, that the Union of the United States was perpetual, that the obligation which rested upon him more than any other was the obligation to support and defend the Constitution, to enforce the laws of the land throughout the whole nation. The closing words of this inaugural, however, were not words of argument or of threat. They were an expression of hope that the differences between the North and the South which had already led to violent action might not lead to separation. The words were as follows:

“I am loath to close. We are not enemies but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave, to every living heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the

Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

President and Commander-in-Chief of the Army.

Five long bitter years of warfare were to pass before the chorus of the Union was again to be heard. During these hard years Lincoln bore the crushing burdens of his office uncomplainingly, patiently, faithfully. He had his moments of deepest dejection when all hope seemed to leave him. But his courage and his will never faltered. He could see no stopping place short of the truth that must be established. With hatred toward none, not even toward his most violent enemies, he carried on steadily and resolutely the grim task of guiding his country through a terrible civil war.

When his first four years of office were ended, Lincoln was elected by an overwhelming vote to a second term. Before the close of his first term he had taken the great step of abolishing by decree all slavery in the United States. The Emancipation Proclamation was signed on January 1, 1863, declaring that all slaves were forever free and that they would be received as soldiers in the army of the United States.

But the war was not ended by this Proclamation, nor yet by another year of fighting that followed it. Lincoln was inaugurated for his second term on March 4, 1865, and in his inaugural address, no less firmly than before, he expressed the will of the country to fight until the people shall "achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace" among themselves and with all nations. But only a little more than a month after the inauguration, Lee surrendered at

Appomattox Court House, on April 9, and the war came to an end.

The Death of Lincoln.

Five days after Lee's surrender Lincoln was assassinated by an actor named John Wilkes Booth, who shot the President as he sat in a box in Ford's Theater in Washington. The day was Friday, three days before Easter, April 14, 1865. Lincoln lingered only a few hours without regaining consciousness after the shot was fired. The next morning the whole American world knew that the greatest and most loved of all Presidents was dead.

The assassin's bullet stilled the body of Lincoln, but now his spirit was more than ever living. That part of him can never die. It has entered into the continuing life of the American people as each new generation transmits to the next the cherished memory of Lincoln's acts and of his nature. Lincoln has become a national hero not merely because he rose by his own efforts from humble beginnings to the highest position in the land. To have done this arouses admiration, but the feeling of Americans for Lincoln is something more than admiration. It is a feeling of veneration for one who has made plain to the American people the path upon which they would set their feet. Lincoln was a true American and a guide for all true Americans. His fellow countrymen have accepted him as such, and from the contemplation of his life they have learned how better to know themselves. He was the first President of the United States who was born west of the Alleghanies. In this fact there is significance. He represented no section of America—not New England, not the South, not the wealth of the great cities, but he rep-

resented the whole American people as they had become mingled and made one on the broad middle of the American continent.

Lincoln's life is the best definition of democracy that can be given. By his life he gave dignity to the common life. Someone has said that to have brought forth a man like Lincoln justifies the existence of the American republic. The roots from which Lincoln grew to manhood and power were indeed sunk deep in the very soil of American life. But the American republic cannot be justified only by its past. The spirit of Lincoln must live also in the present and in the future of the American people. Then the life and the death of Abraham Lincoln will not have been in vain.



BOOK VI

THE FRUITS OF THE EARTH

XIX

CORN, WHEAT AND COTTON

THE serious and constant business of most people is the business of making a living. Day in, day out, they labor at their calling, whatever that may be. The government of a country cannot provide a living for its people. All the government can do is to give the people an opportunity to earn a living for themselves. In fact it is quite the other way around, for the government must live at the expense of the persons who labor at their callings. The government can be supported only by the paying of taxes, and only when fortunes, large or small, have been built up through labor will there be money in a country with which to pay taxes

The Occupations of Mankind.

In this business of earning a living, people engage in occupations, and there are in general only two kinds of productive occupations. The first of these may be called the extractive occupations, and the second are the industrial occupations.

The extractive occupations are those in which the means of living are extracted directly from the earth. The support of all life must come from the earth. The earth produces the sole means of existence, and without the grass, grain and other fruits of the soil, man could not survive. Neither

could animals of any kind survive. They must all be fed by the earth.

Animals afford the completest illustration of getting a living through an extractive occupation. Among animals there are no industrial occupations. A wild buffalo spends its whole life grazing, thereby extracting from the grassy plain the food that supports it. So also a tiger lives on the natural products of the earth when it kills and eats other animals, which in turn may have killed and eaten still other animals, or which may, like the buffalo, have fed themselves only on the vegetation of the earth. But if a tiger kills a buffalo, he does not bother to change his kill into something different. He eats it as it is. If he should take his buffalo meat and dry it or smoke it or make pemmican out of it, or if he should take the buffalo hide and cure and tan it and then make a coat for himself or someone else out of it, then the tiger would become a manufacturer. He would no longer be limited to an extractive occupational way of providing his living, but would also engage in an industrial occupation. But no tiger has ever done this.

The Extractive Occupations.

The extractive occupations were naturally the first and earliest occupations of mankind. Like the animals, primitive man lived directly and exclusively on the products of the earth. At first he took these products as he found them, wild fruits growing wherever the accidents of nature placed them, and wild animals which the accidents and chances of the hunt brought within his power.

As men developed, however, they conceived the notion of regulating and increasing the production of the food upon which they lived. They thus became farmers, preparing the

soil and sowing the seed for the most favorable growth of plants, and they became herdsmen, feeding and protecting their flocks so that they might have a larger and steadier supply of animal food. But these were still extractive occupations. The farmer, when he planted and reaped a field of wheat, did not make wheat a different thing from what it had been when wheat grew only wild. He merely made the conditions of his extractive occupation more favorable and perhaps gave the wheat a better chance to grow.

Very soon, however, a farmer who had conceived the notion of controlling the productive powers of the earth must also have conceived notions of using his products in other ways than simply consuming them as nature produced them. Very early he would discover the process of grinding his wheat into a flour and then of baking it into a bread. Or he would undertake to use the skins of the animals he had killed to fashion some sort of protecting garment for himself. He would thus engage in the industrial occupations of the miller and baker, or of the tanner and tailor. Once started, he might extend very widely both his extractive and industrial occupations. He might take the trees that the earth produced and shape them into a dwelling place. Or he might extract copper or other metal from the earth and hammer it into a knife or an arrowhead. In all this he would be combining an extractive with an industrial occupation.

The Production of Food.

A list of the extractive occupations and their products in the United States would be long and varied. The oldest and the most necessary of them would naturally be those which provided man with food. In a country containing as many different climates and as many different kinds of soil

as the United States has, it would be possible to produce a great variety of materials suitable for food. But not only the land, the water also can be and has been drawn on for human food. The fisheries of the Atlantic coast, where cod, haddock, herring, halibut and other fishes are caught, of the Great Lakes, where the delicious whitefish abounds, and of the Pacific Coast, especially the Columbia river, famous for its salmon—these all, and many other waters, for many years have yielded a rich harvest to the fishermen.

But the foods that come from the land would make a much longer and more important list. Of these some are more or less luxuries. They add spice and variety to the American diet, but they cannot be regarded as altogether necessary. Such are some of the fruits, oranges and grapefruit, peaches, pears and apples, cherries, plums and grapes, watermelons and cantaloupes, and various other delicacies that no one would like to give up, but which would be among the first foods to be sacrificed if one were compelled to reduce to absolute necessities.

Corn in the New World.

If we come down to the two most essential food products of the United States, these two would be corn and wheat. Though not so interesting as oranges and peaches, corn and wheat have meant a great deal more in the history of the American people than have the two fruits.

Corn is the older of the two products, and it is in fact a native of America. It was not known to the Old World until after the discovery of America, when seeds were carried to various parts of Europe and were planted and grown there. But corn has never become, in any other part of

the globe, as important a crop as it is in America. In this country it has found the most suitable conditions for its growth and development.

By origin corn belongs to the family of the grasses, but it has been very much improved by centuries of cultivation. When the first European explorers and settlers appeared in America, they found that the native Indians were long familiar with the cultivation and uses of corn. The first white settlers were quick to learn the importance of corn from the Indians. Captain John Smith saved the colony in Virginia from starvation by compelling the colonists to follow the example of the Indians in planting corn. Plymouth Colony in New England was saved from a similar fate by corn purchased from the Indians, and corn was among the first successful crops raised by white men on the soil of New England.

The Indian Name for Corn.

Though corn was a common Indian product, the name by which the Indians knew it was not corn. Their name was an Indian word which has come down into English now as maize. This word was first taken over from the Indians by the Spanish at the time of their early settlements in the West Indies, and from the Spanish it has passed into English and other languages.

But maize has never become the common English word for corn in America. The common word has always been corn, which is an old word brought over to America from England by the first English settlers. But of course the old English word could not originally have meant what we mean by the word corn, because corn did not then exist in

England. In its older English sense the word meant wheat, and in England to this day corn ordinarily means wheat, and a corn merchant is one who deals in wheat.

The word had a still older meaning than this, however, for its really primary and first meaning is grain, the same as Latin *granum*. The first sense is still to be seen in the word peppercorn, that is, a grain of pepper, and the word kernel also contains it. Wheat merely came to be called corn in England because it was the commonest grain raised there. And so also maize has come to be called corn in America because it is the commonest grain raised here. To distinguish this common American grain from the common English grain, however, the former was often called Indian corn, and when the grain was ground, it was called Indian meal.

Cornfields of New England.

The Indian method of planting and raising corn was crude and wasteful. Usually a piece of ground was burnt over to get rid of trees, brush and weeds, and then, without plowing or further preparation of the soil, the seeds of corn were planted in little holes made with a stick. After the plants came up, little or no attention was paid to them, except perhaps to hill up the earth around them to keep them upright. Between the hills of corn, squashes and pumpkins were planted. Even with such crude methods, in a rich soil, of which of course the Indians had an abundance, the plants grew and in time brought forth their golden ears.

The early New England settler's method of growing corn was a good deal like that of the Indian's, although in time the New Englanders were compelled to fence in and plow their fields, instead of following the expensive plan of burn-

ing down a forest every time they wanted to plant a field of corn. Like the Indians, however, they planted only small patches of corn, enough for their own family supply, and some, perhaps, to feed to their few hogs and cattle. Corn has always been an important part of the New England farmer's food supply.

Corn in the South.

If corn was an important food in the northern States, it was still more important in the South. In New England and in the Middle States wheat and rye were raised besides corn, but in the South the climate was not favorable for the growing of these grains and they were not often attempted. This left corn as the chief food supply among the grains. Corn never competed with tobacco as a commercial product on the large plantations, but enough corn was always raised to provide white and black with cornmeal for the making of the pones, hoecakes and corn breads which were the southern forms of the staff of life.

The Corn Belt.

Though corn played an important part in the lives of the early colonists and the later settlers in the States along the Atlantic seaboard, it is not in this region that it has been most extensively cultivated. The real home of corn in the United States lies in the valley of the Mississippi, and in the valleys of the many rivers that flow into the Mississippi. This is the great Corn Belt of America. Nowhere else on the globe is there another region as large and as favorable for the growth of corn. A hot, rather moist climate and a deep, rich soil are the best for corn. It will grow and do well elsewhere, but when the conditions are exactly right,

it grows to a height almost beyond belief. This great growth it usually attains only in tropical climates. In the middle regions of the United States it ordinarily varies in height from four to twelve feet.

Prosperity from Corn.

Corn was the source of the first commercial prosperity of the Mississippi valley. After the rich valley farms had been settled, the farmers at once began to raise corn. Very soon they were raising much more than they could use themselves, and so they began shipping it down the Ohio and other rivers, and then down the Mississippi to feed the slaves in the southern States who were kept so busy raising cotton by their masters that there was no time left or land left for raising corn or other foods.

But the supply of corn soon became even greater than this market required. Thereupon the farmers began to transform their corn into a different shape by feeding it to their hogs. Having fattened the hogs on the corn, they drove them to the markets where they were converted into lard, hams and bacon. The corn regions of the Middle West became the first great stock-raising sections of America. The pork that was raised here was also shipped for the most part to feed the slave labor on the southern and southwestern cotton plantations. It was this corn and pork commerce between the upper and the lower Mississippi that first made Cincinnati an important city.

Cincinnati is on the Ohio river, and it was easy for that city to ship the produce of the farmers of the State of Ohio down the river to New Orleans. Ohio is still one of the chief corn-producing States in America. But there are other States which now produce more corn than Ohio. In the

order of their productivity the States of the Corn Belt are as follows: Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Indiana and Ohio. These seven states produce more than two-thirds of all the corn grown in the United States, and therefore a very considerable part of all the corn grown in the world. Other cities besides Cincinnati have been made rich and important in this region by corn, and by the cattle and hogs that have been fed for the market on corn, and among these may be counted Chicago, Omaha and Kansas City.

Wheat Belongs to the World.

Corn belongs peculiarly to America, but wheat belongs to the world. Nowhere else can one see such great fields of waving corn as those which ripple in the July wind and sunshine like a wide green ocean on the middle of the American continent. Corn originated in America, and America has been its chief home. But wheat has been known all over the Old World and from very ancient times. Grains of wheat have been found in the tombs of the ancient Egyptians, and it is probable that wheat has been cultivated in Europe and Asia from the beginning of human civilization. It has been the favorite vegetable food of mankind for many thousands of years, and it is still a principal crop among all civilized people. More than half of the wheat grown in the world is now produced in Europe, and North America comes second in the amount produced.

Wheat was not cultivated by the American Indians when the Europeans first visited this continent. All American wheat comes from seed that was originally brought from Europe. But wherever the soil and the climate were suitable, from the earliest days of the white settlers, wheat was al-

ways planted. It prefers a temperate climate, neither too cold nor too hot, too wet nor too dry. It cannot be grown successfully under as great a variety of conditions as corn. For this reason the extensive cultivation of wheat has been limited to localities in which the conditions are favorable. In general these conditions are found in the rolling prairie lands of the West. Here wheat is grown often in fields that stretch away as far as the eye can see, soft emerald-green in the springtime, green-gold at the time of harvest, and tawny as the coat of an old lion after the harvest is over.

From these fields the grain is carried by train or by boat to the great central storehouses or elevators at Duluth, Chicago or Buffalo, at Minneapolis, Kansas City or St. Louis, or at a dozen other cities whose prosperity rests upon a foundation of wheat. From the elevators the wheat is shipped to the mills and the markets of all the world, passing from one hand to another until it appears at last on our tables as bread, rolls, crackers, macaroni and many other foods made from the flour of wheat. For breakfast, dinner and supper, one day and the next day, all of us eat something made of wheat. What we eat at one time may be little, but all the littles of the world added together amount in the end to many millions of bushels taken each year by mankind from the rich bosom of Mother Earth.

The Raising and the Weaving of Cotton.

The two first human necessities are food and clothing, food for strength and clothing for protection. In primitive conditions, men depended on animals for both. Having caught and killed some animal, a rabbit, a beaver, a bear or a buffalo, primitive man feasted on the flesh of the animal,



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and then used the hide of the animal as a coat or a covering for himself. As he grew wiser, however, he learned both to produce food for himself by agriculture and to fashion artificial garments for protection. In time he learned the art of weaving. The material which he first used for weaving was the wool taken from the backs of the sheep which he was raising for food. Then other substances, especially vegetable substances, were woven, and the most important of these was cotton.

Early Uses of Cotton.

Cotton has been known and used for weaving for a very long time. The ancient Chinese and the ancient Egyptians understood the art of weaving cotton cloth. There are few regions of the earth where the climate permits the growth of the plant in which wild cotton is not found. When Columbus came to the West Indies the natives were familiar with cotton. The Aztecs of Mexico, at the time when they were conquered by Cortez, used cotton cloth of their own weaving for clothing, often dyeing it in patterns of various colors. The Indians of the northern parts of America were not familiar with cotton, nor did they practice the art of weaving in any form. They were still in that earlier stage of civilization in which man was dependent upon the skins of animals for such clothing as he possessed.

Although cotton was known in America from very early times, the cultivation of cotton on a large scale did not come until a late period in the history of the United States. As cotton demands a long season for its growth, and as it will not stand the slightest frost, it can be grown only in a warm climate. This limits it to the southern States. In these

regions, small quantities of cotton have always been grown. Besides his patch of corn, every farmer also had his patch of cotton, which was woven at home to make a coarse homespun cloth for the use of the family.

But the raising of cotton during the earlier periods was restricted for two reasons. One was that the more profitable and the well-known crop was tobacco. The other was that the labor and expense of preparing cotton, as compared with wool and linen, for weaving was so great as to discourage the use of it. The chief difficulty lay not in the growing and harvesting of the cotton, but in the separation of the cotton fiber from the seed after it was harvested. Cotton grows in a boll, and after the boll is ripe it bursts open and the white cotton fiber spreads out, not unlike a large fluffy grain of popcorn. The cotton plant is related to the milkweed plant, and this plant also, when it is ripe, contains in its seed pod a silky white fiber like that of cotton, but so delicate and frail that it is not strong enough for weaving. But the milkweed fluff differs from the cotton fluff also in that every fiber of the latter is firmly attached to a seed at the center of the ball of fiber. To pick these fibers from the seed by hand is a slow and tedious operation.

The invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney in 1793 made this process much easier. The word gin is an abbreviated form of engine, which originally meant machine, and a cotton gin is a machine for picking the fiber of cotton from the seed. With this machine, three hundred pounds of cotton could be cleaned in one day, whereas by the old method of picking by hand, three or four pounds represented a day's work. About the same time, or a little later, improvements were made also in the machinery for weaving cotton cloth.

The Cotton Belt.

After the War of 1812 had made Americans realize the necessity of manufacturing for themselves the articles which they needed, the manufacturing occupations increased rapidly, and among these the industry of weaving cotton into cotton cloth took a chief place. This led to a demand for a larger supply of cotton, and thus it was that the great cotton plantations of the South came into being. Just as there is a Corn Belt in the northern Mississippi valley, so also is there a Cotton Belt in the South, extending all the way from North Carolina to Texas.

In these regions nearly four-fifths of the yearly supply of all the cotton in the world is grown. The raising of this enormous amount of cotton requires the labor of an army of field hands, of harvesters, preparers, shippers, all sorts of workmen. After the cotton reaches the factories, another army of workmen in a wilderness of wheels, pulleys and spindles convert this white snow of the southern cotton fields into cloths of the greatest variety, some heavy and coarse for strong wear, some light and delicate as a spider's web. Take away all the articles made of cotton which we now use every day of our lives, and one will realize then what a large part cotton has played in the history of the modern world.

XX

GOLD

OF the various ways of becoming rich, none would be more delightful than to find a gold mine. Everybody likes to dream of discovering hidden treasure—a pirate's ironbound chest, stuffed with golden coins, with diamonds, emeralds and rubies in bags, with pearls in strings, long and lustrous. To draw riches from the earth by planting and cultivating the soil is a slow and toilsome process. And even with much labor, the farmer does not win riches from the soil, though it may be that his comfort and independence are better than riches. But to find a gold mine, or a diamond mine, or any rich treasure ready to hand—that is something different!

The Explorers Seek Gold.

It was the dream of finding treasures of gold in the New World that sent the early voyagers and explorers of the Old World across an unknown and perilous ocean. But, for the most part, the history of these early voyagers in quest of gold is a story of failure. Very few of the explorers found any gold, because the very thing that makes gold sought for is the fact that it is difficult to find. And herein lies the great drawback to all hunting for treasure—the exceeding difficulty and uncertainty of finding it. In the end a people always acquires greater wealth by settling down industriously to some manageable occupations than by adventurous expeditions in search of hidden treasure. For the one who

succeeds, thousands come back no richer than they were when they set out.

The Discovery of Gold.

In spite of the uncertainty of finding gold, it is true nevertheless that the thought and hope of doing so, deeply stir the imagination, and that many people are willing to risk the adventure even with the prospect of failure. Twice in the history of the United States, a great wave of gold fever has swept over the country. The first of these began in 1848, when gold was discovered in California. Immediately a wild rush set in from the eastern States to the Pacific Coast, hitherto almost an unknown country to the Americans. This region had in fact been acquired from Mexico by the terms of the treaty which brought the Mexican War to an end only a few months before gold was discovered.

Within a year's time after the discovery of gold, almost a hundred thousand settlers had arrived and established themselves in California. These were the Forty-niners, the men who risked their fortunes and their lives to reach the gold fields in that year. Many of them returned, some with gold,

most of them without gold, but many also remained in California, and with the other immigrants who soon joined them, they laid the foundations for the later prosperity of the State.

The second wave of gold fever came when gold was discovered in Alaska in 1898. In spite of the fact that the frozen



Yukon is not as pleasant a place to go adventuring in as the coasts of sunny California, great throngs of eager seekers hastened to the new gold fields, by boat, by dog-sled, by foot, by any hook or crook that would get them there. It was a hard and dangerous life that these gold-hunters had to live on the snow fields of Alaska, and nothing short of the fever of a great excitement enabled them to endure it.

The Passion for Gold.

What is it, then, that makes the thought of gold so stimulating? Do men desire gold because it is so beautiful? Gold undoubtedly is beautiful, but that is not the chief reason why men are eager to risk their lives in order to gain possession of it. The man who has much gold does not derive his pleasure from sitting down and admiring the beauty of his heap of shining metal. He does not even have it made into rings or chains for his personal adornment. The amount of gold that one can wear is comparatively very small.

Neither is gold sought primarily for immediate practical uses. Men do not make pots and pans out of gold, nor do they make railroad tracks or bridges or girders for buildings of this metal. No doubt it could be done if one had gold enough. But there is no necessity that pots and pans should be made out of gold. There are other metals which answer these purposes just as well, and it is not for such everyday practical applications that men value gold. Imagine how the world would seem if gold were the only metal in existence! Then everything that man possessed which was made of metal would have to be made of gold, but such possessions would be infinitely fewer than they are now.

As it is neither its beauty nor its immediate practical use-

fulness that makes gold precious, we must look elsewhere to find the reason why men consider it to be so valuable. Of course it is rare. There seems to be only a limited amount of gold in all the world, and this is not scattered everywhere, like ordinary stones, but is found only in special regions.

The fact that an object is rare, however, does not in itself make it valuable. There are various minerals in the earth just as rare as gold, or rarer, which nevertheless have no great value in the sight of mankind. To say that gold is valuable because it is rare would be like saying that a thing is more worth while doing the harder it is to do it. But there are many things hard to do that are not worth doing at all. To stand on one leg for two hours would be hard, but it would not be particularly valuable. Things are worth doing because they accomplish some good result, and so also gold is worth having because certain desirable ends can be attained with it.

Gold and Money.

To understand why gold is valuable, it is necessary to understand what men have in mind when they speak of business. Business is buying and selling. We know that a man who has gold can have anything he wants—that is, he can have anything that is to be bought. People are as eager to acquire gold when it is coined into money as the adventurous gold-seeker is to find it yet unmined in the earth. Business is the modern form of treasure-hunting.

Gold has become valuable because it is so useful when coined into money for carrying on the business of buying and selling. Bread is valuable for food. Wool and cotton are valuable because they can be woven and used for clothing. But gold is valuable because it is a convenience in the

most universal occupation of mankind, the business of buying and selling.

Business by Barter and Exchange.

It is possible to buy and sell without money, and in the earlier periods of American history this was often done. Certain articles were exchanged or traded directly for other articles. Thus the Indians, after they had gathered together their season's catch of furs, brought them to some white man and traded or bartered the furs for the articles the Indians wanted. It was customary to measure the value of these articles in beaver skins, and a blanket was worth so many beaver skins, a gun was worth so many, a pound of powder so many, and so with all the other articles which the white men had for sale.

A little later buying and selling was carried on in much the same way in the colony of Virginia, only in Virginia the values of objects were expressed in terms of tobacco. The main crop and the main article of export in Virginia was tobacco, and as there was little ready money in the colony, tobacco was used instead. Thus a planter might pay his taxes with so many pounds of tobacco, or buy a slave, or a horse, or anything, by paying the number of pounds of tobacco agreed upon in the bargain.

The beaver skins used by the traders in their dealings with the Indians, and the tobacco used by the Virginia planters, thus became what are known as mediums of exchange. These two products were chosen because they were the common products in the communities in which they were used and because they had a value fairly constant and well known. They were standard products which therefore had general and standard values.

Inconveniences of Business by Barter.

Plainly enough, however, there might be some difficulties arising from the use of articles like beaver skins or tobacco, or any other products, as mediums of exchange. In Virginia, for example, if a man was not a planter and had no tobacco to sell and did not want to buy any tobacco, he would nevertheless be compelled to buy tobacco first before he could exchange his own products for what he really wanted to buy. The producer of tobacco would naturally have a great advantage over the person who was not a producer of tobacco, for the tobacco-planter could procure what he wanted by direct exchange, whereas the person who was not a producer would have to make two transactions in order to make one purchase. If therefore tobacco were the common medium of exchange and a man produced only wheat, the farmer who raised wheat would be at a disadvantage as compared with the planter who raised tobacco.

There was still the further inconvenience in bartering that such bulky and perishable articles as tobacco, furs and other products were hard to manage. For one thing, they were likely to suffer damage and to spoil by long keeping. In Massachusetts dried peas were often used as tobacco was in Virginia. A constable at Springfield in Massachusetts once collected one hundred and thirty bushels of peas as payment for taxes. As he was conveying these peas by boat on the Connecticut river, he shipped so much water aboard that the peas became wet and so were spoiled.

Business could be carried on satisfactorily by such methods of exchange only when the amount of business was small, and when the persons engaged in it were few in number and residents of the same locality. For business on a

larger scale something more compact and convenient was needed, something also which would have the same value to the man who was selling wheat as to the man who was selling tobacco, or anything else. To fill this need money came into use.

Money and Civilization.

The employment of money marks one of the stages in the advance of civilization. Savage peoples have no money, or only very crude forms of it. Some tribes of American Indians had, indeed, a kind of money known as wampum. It consisted of round pieces cut out of shells, which anybody who wanted to take the trouble to do so could gather on the seashore and cut into the proper shape. The southern shore of Long Island was a famous place for gathering shells for wampum. The disks of shell had holes in them through which they were strung on strings. When an Indian of the tribes which used this kind of money wanted to buy something, he offered so many strings of wampum for it. But this wampum money was not extensively used, even by the Indians, for the reason that the Indians were not much given to buying and selling. If they had been, they would certainly have invented some form of money more practical than their wampum.

Among peoples further advanced than the Indians, the usual form of money was some kind of metal molded and stamped to make a coin. Various kinds of metal have been employed for this purpose—copper, bronze, nickel, silver and, above all, gold.

Perhaps there is no way in which the civilization of our day differs more strikingly from the civilization of a thousand years ago than in the much greater extent to which the

carrying on of our civilization is dependent on the use of coined money. Money has been said to be the root of all evil. It may be that, but it seems also that money is the root of everything else. Money has become so important in the life of every individual that in all civilized countries today it is under the control of the government. Without money, it would be impossible to carry on the complicated affairs of the modern way of living, and the growth of the use of money is one of the important elements in the development of the history of the United States.

Money in Colonial Times.

So long as the American colonies were dependent upon England, the money of the colonies was English money. But comparatively little ready English cash came to the colonies, and that which came did not stay there long. When the colonists had any products to dispose of in England, the English government favored paying for these products not with money but by exchange for English manufactured articles. Thus the colonist, in return for his tobacco or timber, was encouraged to take English cloth, glassware and other manufactures. On the other hand, when the colonists wanted to buy something in England or elsewhere in Europe, they could always make a better bargain by paying hard cash, if they had it, than by exchanging goods for goods. There was thus always a tendency to pay for imports with ready money, leaving little to circulate in the colonies.

As there was little ready English money in the colonies, various other kinds of money circulated freely. Through their trade with the West Indies, the colonists received considerable amounts of Spanish money and this was almost

as commonly used as English money. Portuguese, French, Dutch and other coins were also in circulation, and during the early periods of American history one had to be something of an expert in money to know what all the coins were, where they came from, and what they were worth.

This would not have made much difference if the coins had all been what they were supposed to be. The coins that circulated during the colonial period were usually made of silver, and the value of the silver, merely as silver, was supposed to be as great as the value of the coin as money. In reality, however, some of the coins were worth more and some less as silver, and anyone who did not know the difference was likely to have the less valuable coins put off on him in bargaining. In ordinary buying and selling, these less valuable coins passed without much question, but when they were offered to importers or to large dealers, who were cautious and careful about the kind of money they received, then they were taken only at a reduced value and the persons who had accepted them at full value had to suffer the loss.

Paper Money.

In order to overcome some of these difficulties, the colonial governments conceived the notion of making money, not out of valuable materials like silver and gold, but simply out of paper, by printing paper notes as money. These paper notes were worth practically nothing in themselves, for both paper and printing are comparatively cheap. It is easy for a government to take a piece of paper and print on it, "This is five dollars." But the great question is whether saying so really changes a piece of paper into money. Of course the government might compel its own citizens by force to

accept the paper five dollars as equal to a gold or silver five dollars. This would be a hard law to carry out, however, and it would have no effect on people outside the country. It would be impossible to force other nations to accept the paper five dollars as five dollars, unless the foreign nations thought it really was worth that. If they did not, they would accept it only for what they thought it was worth.

The Failure of Paper Money.

The result of this colonial experiment in printing paper notes was that in a short time the paper notes ceased to have the value which the colonial governments gave them when the notes were printed. Nobody wanted them, because they were only promises to pay, and not in themselves real money. The paper notes could not be melted into gold and silver like coined money, and then sold merely as gold and silver, for as much as the coins themselves were worth as money. Neither could they be exchanged for gold and silver coins at any government bank or other place, because the paper notes were printed without any gold or silver in reserve for which to exchange them. They were what is known as cheap money. It was easy money to make, but it was hard to convince people that it was worth much after it was made.

Not Worth a Continental.

The experience of the colonies was repeated later when the colonies came together to form a Union of their own and to fight against England for their independence. When the Continental Congress of the new government met, it had no money, and no gold and silver with which to make money. Instead it began to print paper money with which Congress

proposed to pay the wages of the soldiers in the Continental army and the expenses of keeping the army supplied. These Continental notes were in effect merely promises to pay at some time or other—as though the Congress should say, We have no money now, but at some future time we hope to have money. In the meanwhile, take this piece of paper, which says it is as good as money, and which will be as good as money, if we ever have enough money to make it as good.

The value of this Continental money depended a great deal on the degree of one's confidence that the American revolutionists would win their independence and would eventually have a government which would make the Continental paper notes good. There were times, however, when the prospect that the War of Independence would be won was not very bright. The value of the Continental notes finally fell so low that they were worth practically nothing. If one wanted to speak of something of small account, one said it was not worth a Continental.

Greenbacks.

Once again in the history of the United States, the government printed paper money to serve as real money, with the result that it failed to do so. This was during the Civil War, when vast sums were needed to pay soldiers and to buy supplies. These paper notes then issued were known as greenbacks, from the color of the ink with which they were printed. They fell in value until in 1864 a dollar in greenbacks was worth only thirty-five cents in gold or silver. Fifteen years later, however, the government agreed to redeem these greenbacks by paying in exchange for them a full dollar's worth in gold. But it was only when the government strengthened the greenbacks by putting a full dol-

lar's value behind them that the greenbacks became worth a dollar.

American Money is Gold Money.

The lesson which has been taught by the issuing of a paper money without solid value back of it has invariably been the same. This lesson is that no government can make an article of small worth permanently of greater worth merely by printing the statement that it shall be so upon it. A basket of cobblestones cannot be changed into a basket of apples merely by putting an apple sign on it. By threat and force, one may compel someone else to accept a basket of cobblestones as equal to a basket of apples, but after the compulsion is removed, the cobblestones will be taken only for what they are. So also with bills and paper money. Unless they are as good as coins of precious metals and can be exchanged for such coins, they will not have the same value as the coins. They will be accepted only under necessity, or they will be accepted at less value than the amount for which they were issued.

Free Coinage of Gold.

The government of the United States has acknowledged this as an established principle in the conduct of its monetary system. One may say that the basis of all money in the United States is gold money. Any person who has gold can take it to a mint of the United States and, free of charge, have it coined into gold coins containing the required weight of gold in them. But no other metal can be coined in this way, not even silver. The United States has free coinage of gold, but of no other metal. The gold, after it is coined, is not worth any more than it was before, nor

is it worth any less. It has merely been changed in form. It has been changed into pieces of definite weight and value which are readily recognizable by reason of the government's stamp upon them. They are therefore much more convenient to use and to circulate as money than the uncoined gold would be.

Gold for Money.

This, then, is the remarkable thing about gold and the thing that gives it value, the fact that it is so useful as money. Gold is useful also for making jewelry and other ornaments, for making gold pens and some other manufactured articles, but the chief usefulness of gold is for making money. For this purpose it is the most practicable material mankind has discovered. It is rare, but unlike radium and some other metals, not so rare that there is too little of it for the uses to which it is put. It does not rust or tarnish, it is hard and does not easily wear away, it is distributed all over the world, and by common consent and as the result of long experience, men everywhere have found it the best medium of exchange. These are the chief reasons for its value.

It is easy to see now why all men desire to have gold. In the form of money, gold is the commonest and most universal medium of exchange. With money, one can buy everything and anything—that is, anything for sale. But it is obvious that gold and money have value only in a world of buying and selling. If two men were cast adrift on a raft in the ocean and were in danger of starvation, and if one of the men had a bag of gold money and the other had a bag of bread, it is not likely that there would be any buying and selling. The money would have lost its value because there was no market to which it could be taken to

exchange for the articles which the owner of the money at the moment needed. Money has its value, therefore, but money also has its limitations, for it is useful only in the business of buying and selling.

Coins of the United States.

In the United States, coined money may be made of gold, silver, nickel or copper, and besides these the government issues also paper money in the form of notes or bills. These notes and bills are, however, mainly a convenient and practical form for carrying money, for all of them can be exchanged for coin on request, and their value lies in this coin, not in the paper.

If one were to take gold to the United States mint today to have it made into coins, it might be coined into double eagles, worth twenty dollars, or eagles, worth ten dollars, or half eagles, worth five dollars, or quarter eagles, worth two dollars and fifty cents. Gold coins of lower value than the quarter eagle are not minted because gold coins of less value would be so small that they could not be conveniently used.

Besides these gold coins, the government makes coins of the other metals that have been mentioned, dollars, half dollars and dimes of silver, the five-cent piece of nickel, and the one-cent piece of copper. These are, in fact, the coins that ordinarily circulate and the only ones that most persons ever see. Like the paper bills, they are redeemable in "lawful money," and are only sent out as a practical convenience, since it is necessary to have coins of small value in buying the trifling articles which everybody needs every day, and since gold coins of the value of five cents, or one cent, or in

fact any value less than a quarter eagle, would be so small as to be impracticable.

Legal Tender.

The difference between these smaller coins, and between bills or notes, on the one hand, and gold on the other, will be understood by considering these different kinds of money from the point of view of legal tender. The word tender in this phrase has the meaning of offer, and legal tender is anything which the law declares may be offered, and therefore must be received, in discharge of a debt payable in money. Now coins of nickel and copper are legal tender only to the amount of twenty-five cents in one payment. Thus if one went to a store and bought something for thirty cents and offered six nickels or thirty one-cent pieces in payment, the storekeeper might refuse to take this and might demand a silver quarter and one five-cent piece or five one-cent pieces. The storekeeper would not be likely to do this, but he would be within his legal rights if he should take a notion so to do.

Silver coins of less value than the silver dollar are legal tender to a limit of ten dollars in one payment. Silver dollars and bills redeemable in silver, known as silver certificates, are legal tender "except where otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract."

Gold coins, finally, are legal tender without any limit. They are the last and final word in the matter of money, and better than gold the government of the United States, or any other nation, has nothing to offer.

XXI

COAL

ACCORDING to an old proverb, all that glitters is not gold. But a new proverb is needed to complete the old one, to the effect that some things which do not glitter are as good as gold.

Of those things that do not glitter but have been found to be extraordinarily valuable, the most remarkable is coal. The notion of discovering a gold mine is more exciting and romantic, but more fortunes have been made, and the general character of civilized ways of living have been more profoundly influenced, by the mining of coal from the earth than by the mining of gold.

To the outward eye, coal is not at all interesting or attractive. It looks like a black stone, not nearly so beautiful as marble, nor as strong as granite, nor so generally useful as the sandstones. But stored away in black coal, like treasure in a dark dungeon, there is something that men will pay almost any amount of gold to get.

Coal is Energy.

The name of this treasure stored in coal is energy. Energy means the power to do work, and coal today does most of the work of mankind. Coal is a new black slave, taking the place of the black human slaves of the past. But there is no injustice in the enslaving of coal. On the contrary, it is one of the glorious achievements of the human

mind that man has been able to say to shapeless lumps of coal, Be alive and work for me.

The Early Uses of Coal.

Not the least remarkable fact about coal is that it has come into extensive use only in very recent years. The existence of coal has been known from ancient times, and it has also been known that coal will burn. But in the earlier and simpler forms of civilized life, apparently no one ever thought of making common use of coal, even as fuel for warmth or for cooking. When primitive man discovered fire, he did not apply it to the burning of coal, but to the burning of wood. The commonest fuel and the easiest to secure was naturally wood. It grew everywhere, and in the form of fallen trees or broken branches, it lay on the ground ready for use. And as primitive man probably burned only small amounts of fuel for the simplest kind of cooking, his supply must always have been greater than his needs.

In later stages of development, when men became more provident and industrious, they still looked to the forests for their winter's stock of fuel for the fireplace and for their heat in cooking. The early colonists in America used nothing but wood. From their own wood lots they cut the trees which served them not only for timber for their houses, but also for all the fuel for burning that they required. To this day, people in the country frequently burn only wood, though in long-settled communities the forests are not now likely to be large enough to supply wood for this purpose. In most farming regions the trees have been cut down in order to prepare fields for planting, or the trees still remaining are so valuable for lumber that they cannot be

spared for fuel. The result is that now even the farmer must often buy his fuel. But in the earlier days of the settlements in America, no one thought the time would ever come when trees and wood would be scarce. A settler with a farm to clear was only too glad to get rid of as many trees as possible and as quickly as possible.

When the use of coal was first proposed in the United States, the notion met with much opposition from both ignorance and prejudice. To a people who had long been accustomed to burning only wood, it seemed impossible that a black stone like coal should burn, or if it did burn, that it should make enough heat to be of any practical worth. In early days it is true that the American pioneer had none of the proper conveniences for burning coal. His fireplace was large and open, sometimes large enough to hold a log six feet long and several feet in circumference. Naturally coal would not burn well in such a fireplace. Coal requires a container of some kind, a stove, with a good draft, and the early pioneers had no stoves and no iron with which to make stoves. For these reasons coal came into use but slowly and gradually.

The Kinds of Coal.

There are, in general, two kinds of coal, anthracite, or hard coal, and bituminous, or soft coal. Bituminous coal was discovered in America in 1679, but the earliest records of the mining of any amount of bituminous coal are for the year 1820, when three thousand tons were produced. Anthracite coal was discovered about the year 1762, and the first shipments of anthracite on record were made about 1805. In 1814, the production on record amounted to only twenty-two tons. From this time on, however, the produc-

tion and use of coal increased rapidly. By 1837 a million tons of anthracite were produced in a year, and by 1850 a million tons of bituminous coal were produced in a year. Even this is a small amount compared with the quantity now mined every year. In the United States alone the annual production of coal is now about one and a half billions of tons. This is an average of about fifteen tons for every person. Heaped together on one pile, all this coal would make a very respectable little mountain.

Only a part of this enormous amount of coal is used in households for cooking and heat. The greater part of it is turned into energy, into steam power and other kinds of power for the working of the millions of machines of many kinds which do the hard labor of the world today. It was only about 1825, when the steam engine came into practical use in America, that the possibilities of coal began to be realized. At first the steam engines used wood for fuel, both on railroads and river steamboats. But wood was not a satisfactory fuel. It was so bulky, and it burned up so fast, that not enough of it could be carried on the train or on the steamboat for long journeys. The necessity of frequently stopping to "wood up" caused many delays. Moreover, a hot wood-blaze, such as was necessary to raise sufficient steam, caused the engine to throw out great sparks from its smokestack which often started fires. Coal was not open to these objections, and as soon as the engineers learned how to burn it, coal completely replaced wood.

Coal and Machinery.

Coal is now used in practically all engines, both locomotive and stationary, which are required to do heavy work, such as drawing a train of cars, or lifting great weights.

Steam is the breath of life to the engine, and it is the heat of the coal, liberated by fire, which creates this steam breath in the engine's boilers. Without coal all the wonderful machines in all the shops and factories of the land would stand dead and helpless.

But more than this. Without coal, these machines would never have been made in the first place. It is only by the use of coal that the smelting of iron and other metals on a large scale, and the manufacturing of iron into steel, have become possible. Our age is often called the age of steel and iron. It might just as well be called the age of coal, for coal has been the chief instrument in making the crude ore of the earth useful for other purposes.

Without coal it would have been impossible to manufacture the steel rails that for thousands of miles are extended over every State of the United States. Without coal a great steel bridge like Brooklyn Bridge could never have been built. There are now many other bridges across the larger American rivers—the Ohio, the Missouri, the Mississippi and others—which never could have been constructed in the old-fashioned way out of wood or stone. The tall buildings and skyscrapers of the American cities, ten, twenty, thirty or more stories high, are built on steel frameworks, and it was steel that suggested the idea of such buildings to the architects who first conceived them.

Electricity is Made with the Aid of Coal.

Electricity also is one of the manufactures produced by the use of coal. As a substance or power, electricity was known a long time before it was practically produced and put to work. Benjamin Franklin experimented with a kite by means of which he drew down electricity from the

clouds. But it was a hundred years and more after Franklin's experiments before electricity came into applied use. About 1890 the discovery of the practical possibilities of electricity revolutionized industry almost as thoroughly as the discovery of the uses of steam a century earlier had done. Many great waterfalls, and among them Niagara, have since been harnessed to machinery for producing electricity, and water now assists coal in generating this marvelous power. Electricity in its practical applications has been known only a few years, but already it seems like one of the indispensable accompaniments of modern living.

Gas from Coal.

Before electricity was developed, gas was made from coal, first of all to take the place of candles and lamps for lighting. But afterwards gas came to be used likewise as a fuel for cooking, and also to provide heat or power in some forms of manufacturing. Not all communities were provided with gas factories, however, and many towns have passed directly from candles and lamps to electricity, without any intervening period in which gas was used.

Coal and Industry.

Factories, railroads, bridges, skyscrapers, gas, electricity—these are only a few of the more familiar outer and visible consequences of the uses of coal. Not less important are the changes which have been produced by coal in the ways of thinking and living of the American people. Coal has brought about the great increase of manufacturing in the United States which has taken place in the past seventy-five or one hundred years. Innumerable factories, small and large, have sprung into existence. About them have

gathered thousands, sometimes hundreds of thousands of people, making the great cities of our day. In these great cities live armies of workmen, serving the machines, feeding the furnaces, doing all the countless tasks that pertain to an industrial occupation. The civilization of the United States one hundred years ago was primarily an agricultural civilization, a civilization of country-living and labor. Today the civilization of the United States is very largely a civilization of city life and of industrial labor in factories. For this great change coal is chiefly responsible. Industry cannot flourish without coal. The history of countries that have no coal has shown this to be true. But given coal, no nation nowadays can resist the tremendous pressure to use this source of power. The nations that have an abundant supply of coal are today the strong and rich nations. Without coal a country cannot compete with its more fortunate neighbors. The great movements in human life today are industrial, and since coal is the foundation upon which industry is built, only those peoples who have coal can participate to the full in the civilization of our generation.

Petroleum.

In connection with coal, one must not forget a kind of sister or cousin of coal. This is petroleum. Like coal, petroleum comes from the earth, but as a liquid oil, not as a solid. It is often popularly called coal oil, but it is not made from coal, and in fact the exact nature of its origin is not known. The word petroleum itself means rock oil. When the oil comes from the earth there are many impurities in it, and in this form it is called crude oil. When the impurities are taken out, the crude oil becomes kerosene, gasoline, lubricating oil or some similar product.

The first oil-well in the United States was drilled in 1859. Petroleum was known long before that, but its usefulness had not been realized. In its first practical uses, it was employed only as kerosene for illuminating purposes. Before kerosene came into general use, the common forms of artificial lighting had been candles made from wax or tallow, and lamps in which whale oil was burned. The use of gas made from coal came in about 1825, at first only in churches and public buildings, but gradually also in houses. But of course gas was available only in cities in which a gas factory was operated, and only in houses which were provided with the necessary pipes for conducting the gas.

In the country and in smaller towns, kerosene quickly replaced candles and whale oil. With the invention of electricity, both gas and kerosene have been discarded in large measure, as candles and whale oil were before them, though kerosene is still to some extent burned in lamps when electricity is not available.

But the present uses of petroleum, in its various grades of refinement, are increasingly for the purpose of producing power or energy. For fuel some engines now burn petroleum instead of coal. The combustion engine, burning kerosene or gasoline, which is exploded by an electric spark, is almost as important an invention as the steam engine. Starting with the combustion engine for its motor power, the automobile and the aeroplane have been developed. If there are seven wonders of the modern world, the automobile and the aeroplane are certainly two of them. Opinion may differ as to the rest, but the products of the earth that can be used to generate energy, like coal and petroleum, will probably explain the origin of all of them.

Lubricating Oils.

But kerosene and gasoline do not exhaust the list of valuable products that come from petroleum. Perhaps more important than anything else is lubricating oil. This oil is used on all machinery. Every engine, every wheel on a railway car, every automobile, in fact every piece of high-power machinery in existence must use lubricating oil to reduce friction. Without lubricants the machinery would soon grind itself to pieces. Lubricating oil has thus become an absolute necessity in modern manufacturing, and the only known source of an adequate supply is petroleum. How great the amount of petroleum is in the world, no one can tell, for it is all concealed in deep pockets under the earth. But there cannot be an unlimited amount of it, and as it cannot be replaced once it is used, the wisdom of using it moderately and carefully is apparent.

The Coal Fields of the United States.

The United States has larger coal deposits than any other country in the world, and fortunately the deposits are distributed widely over the land. Pennsylvania is now the largest coal-producing State in the Union, the annual amount mined in that State being almost one and three-fourths million tons. After Pennsylvania come West Virginia and Illinois, though each of these two States produces only about half as much as Pennsylvania. Next comes Ohio, with about forty million tons a year, and then follow various other States, with much lower annual yields.

The chief coal-producing regions so far have been east of the Mississippi. But this does not mean that large deposits of coal are not to be found in other regions. The industrial development of the eastern States has necessitated

extensive mining of coal, but the West has no great manufacturing centers and has not yet demanded large quantities of coal. When it does, the western mines, including the rich coal deposits of Alaska, will no doubt be as extensively worked as those of the East have been. Wherever there are coal deposits, undoubtedly industrial communities in time will gather. The West will then have its great manufacturing centers, similar to those in the East.

How Long will Our Coal Last?

How long will the coal deposits of America last? This is an important question, for when coal is burned, that is the end of it. There is no way of replacing it. When trees are cut down, it is possible to plant new trees and make them grow in the places of the ones that have been killed. But coal cannot be made to grow. It is a geological formation, made by nature in the course of thousands of years of nature's activity. Man can use coal, but it is beyond his power to make it.

Fortunately, however, nature has been very generous in providing the world with a supply of this obedient slave of the mind of man. It has been estimated that the amount of coal so far used up in the United States, as compared with the total amount still remaining in the deposits of the country, is a little more than one-half of one per cent. This means that at the rate of consumption which has prevailed in the past, there would be coal enough to last for two hundred times as long as coal has already been used. It should be remembered, however, that the extensive use of coal covers only about the last fifty years. Counting the consumption of coal for the future at the same rate as for the

past fifty years, there ought then to be coal enough left to last for ten thousand years.

But there are several other considerations that must not be overlooked. It is human nature to use first the best of anything and that which is easiest to get. So it is with coal. In many regions the best and the most accessible coal is already exhausted. As the years pass, the mining of coal will become increasingly laborious and expensive. In time it may be so hard to get as not to repay the labor of getting it. In spite of the fact, therefore, that nature has been extraordinarily generous in laying down coal deposits all over this broad land, it behooves Americans to be reasonable and economical in the employment of their riches. Waste is a sin against nature, for the wealth of nature, even in her most generous moods, may be exhausted by extravagant use of it.

XXII

CAPITAL AND LABOR

THE great struggle which took place in America over slavery arose from a condition of life that is always present. This is the necessity of work. In the sweat of his brow, man shall enjoy the fruits of the earth. Men cannot live, still less can they become prosperous and comfortable, without labor. But who shall be the laborers? And what place shall the laborers hold in a democratic society?

Slave Labor.

In the slave-holding States the problem of labor was solved in a simple but very undemocratic and unsatisfactory way. Certain persons by force were compelled to remain in the condition of laborers, receiving neither hire nor any share in the profits of their labor. The result of this was to make labor a degrading thing. If slaves are the laborers in a community, persons who are not slaves will not labor with their hands, for fear of putting themselves in the same class with the slaves. To be a slave is disgraceful, and to do the work of a slave thus becomes disgraceful.

Apart, therefore, from the moral question whether it is right or wrong to make slaves of human beings, there was involved in slavery also the question of the dignity of labor. The slave labor of the South was a constant reminder to labor everywhere that the workers must exert themselves to prevent their masters from making labor a humiliating

thing. A free laborer cannot work in a field next to one in which slaves are working, but neither can a free laborer work self-respectingly anywhere in the world if laboring is the mark of a humble and despised class of society.

Labor in Colonial Times.

To get a clear view of the changing conditions of labor in the United States, one may contrast the life of the early periods of settlement in America with that of our own later generation. The contrast will indicate the general course of development. For the purpose of this contrast, the South must naturally be excluded, for in that region slavery existed almost from the beginning, and the most characteristic part of the industrial life of the South was just this "peculiar institution" which had to be abolished before the South could mingle in the general current of American life. It is to the Middle States and to New England, therefore, that one must look for the beginnings of the development of industry in the United States.

When the early European settlers migrated to America, they thought of themselves primarily as farmers. What they wanted above all was land, and the independent support which can be secured by the cultivation of land. They did not scatter, however, over wide areas of land. The dangers from the Indians and the hardships of life in a new country forbade this. They tended rather to settle in closely united communities or villages. But always the central idea of the life of the village was the possession of land.

The Farmer and his Land.

This custom of individual landholding and land cultivation was the basis of all American life in New England and the

Middle States for a century and a half after the first settlements. In the main, the American colonists and the citizens of the early years of the American republic were village farmers, each with his own land from which, by the labor of his own hands, he derived all the necessities of life and practically all the luxuries of life that fell to his share. Every citizen of the community was a laborer in this way. There were no very rich and no very poor. The population was not divided between employer and employed, for the good reason that each man was busied with his own affairs and had no time to work for others. Each villager was his own employer.

Very large farms did not exist. There was little point in owning much land if one could not hire laborers to cultivate it. But the land itself was not of a kind to encourage the making of large farms. It was not like the level lands, as yet unknown, of regions west of the Alleghanies, where one looks across grassy plains for miles before the eye meets with any natural boundaries dividing the great ocean of the prairie into smaller lakes and gulfs and bays of land. Along the Atlantic coast, the stretches of arable land are smaller. They are broken up by brooks and streams, by stony hills and woods, by outcroppings and ridges of the bony structure of the earth itself. This was a region in which small, self-containing communities might snuggle down in peaceful nooks and lead a quiet life of simple ease and comfort. The land was not extraordinarily fertile, but it responded to hard work. The stones had to be cleared from the fields, the trees and the brush kept down, but if one did not ask for too much, the land produced plenty.

The Village.

As each man had his own land, there was little opportunity in a community like this to buy and sell. The non-productive members of the community were very few. In a village the persons of higher social standing than the rest of the villagers might well be only a doctor, a teacher and a preacher. But these also would probably be farmers. The New England preacher had his home lot, his pasture lot and his wood lot, like everybody else, and it was no disgrace for the preacher to go out and work in his own garden and fields. The schoolmaster likewise had his lands assigned to him, from which he lived as much as from his small salary. The vacation time of the schools was often so arranged that the schoolmaster might have an opportunity to cut his hay and carry it to his barn in haying time.

Besides these representatives of the learned callings, the village might contain one or two specialized craftsmen. A village might be so lucky as to have a blacksmith, but if not, each man did his blacksmithing at home. Or there might be a carpenter, or a weaver, or even a mason. These men worked for others when their services were needed, but as this was not likely to be all the time, they also had their own fields which kept them busy when not working at their trades.

Manufacturing, as we understand the term now, practically did not exist in America for the first one hundred or one hundred and fifty years. There were no shops or factories, either in the villages or in the towns. The towns, in fact, were merely large villages. The tendency of the population to collect in large cities did not show itself until the period just before the Civil War. Up to that time,

life in the towns was almost as simple as life in the country. If a town or a village possessed a sawmill or a gristmill, where corn, rye and wheat could be ground, it became a noted place.

Before the Day of the Factory.

It is not hard to see why the farmers and villagers felt little impulse to go into manufacturing. In the first place, there was plenty of land for all, and from the land could be drawn the supplies necessary for simple living. And then, if one wanted to manufacture articles of any kind, for whom should he manufacture them? There was, of course, first of all, the local community. But the local communities were small, and their needs were soon satisfied. Manufacturing of this kind undoubtedly went on all the time. In his leisure hours at home, somebody made axe-helves or oxbows, or wove baskets, or cobbled shoes, or did one of a dozen things that meet the needs of a rustic community. But as each householder was likely to do these things just as well for himself, the demand for such manufactured articles would not be heavy.

Manufacturing and Commerce.

As for manufacturing to sell outside the community, the difficulties of communication were so great as to make this impossible. There were no railroads, not even any highways with freight wagons running over them to carry goods from one part of the country to the other. There was no way to send freight or express except to carry it yourself. During the colonial period there was no regular postal system, and no one had yet dreamed of making government provision

for carrying articles larger than letters or newspapers of a page or two. The parcel post is of very recent origin.

But even if it had been possible to carry manufactured articles to a market, there was no way of letting customers at a distance know that you had something to sell. Newspapers were few in number and read by comparatively few people, magazines did not exist, and the whole art of advertising was as yet undiscovered.

If one could not sell among the colonies in America, there remained the possibility of loading manufactured goods upon ships and sending them across the Atlantic to be sold on the other side. All the colonies had good harbors and easy communication by water with the coast, and this kind of commerce was certainly possible. But what England and other European countries wanted from America was not the crude manufactured articles of the new country. The European countries were much further advanced in manufacturing than America, and they were in the market to sell, not to buy. What they wanted from America was raw materials—lumber, furs, foodstuffs—the products not of the manufacturer, but of the farmer and woodsman.

The Fat of the Land.

With this exchange, the American farmers on the whole were content. They were content to work their little farms in peace and quiet, and to buy such manufactured articles as they needed from the European, mainly the English, manufacturers. What they were compelled to buy was not much. On their own land they raised most of the materials they needed, and in their own houses they made most of the required articles of household use. Their food grew at their very doors. With one or two cows for milk, butter and

cheese, fowls for eggs, a few pigs for bacon, hams and lard, an occasional sheep for mutton and a less frequent ox for beef, the self-supporting farmer was supplied with a large part of his living. To these he could add meal ground from his own corn and rye, potatoes, turnips, squashes, pumpkins and other vegetables grown in his own garden. As additions to these plain, everyday necessities, the farmer could have honey from his own bees, and very frequently maple sugar and syrup from his own grove of maple trees. But if he had no grove of maple trees, he could always have cherries, apples, plums, pears, strawberries and other small fruits by taking the trouble to make them grow.

From his own sheep the village farmer sheared the wool which the women members of his household spun into yarn. This was then knitted into stockings, gloves and other garments, or was woven into a strong woollen cloth. The women also spun the flax which the farmer raised in his fields into a linen cloth for shirts, dresses and other clothing. Sometimes wool and linen were woven together into a cloth which was known as linsey-woolsey. These home-made cloths may not have been very fine or very beautiful, but they were strong and durable, and they satisfied the wants of a people who dressed for comfort and use, not for fashion or display. Besides the spinning and weaving, soap-making, candle-making, rug-making and other similar occupations fell to the lot of the women members of the village farmer's family.

Little to Sell, Little to Buy.

With most of his living thus provided for him by his own labor on his own land, the farmer was not obliged to buy much. If he wanted tea or coffee to drink, he had to buy

that, and he had to buy his sugar. If he wanted finer cloth than his wife could weave, that also he must get by buying the costly imported cloths from abroad. As he would not have much ready money, however, he would not be likely to indulge heavily in such luxuries.

The work on his farm being done by hand and mostly by himself, the farmer would need no expensive machinery. He might want to buy a plow with steel colter and share, but that would not be absolutely necessary, for the early farmer's plow was often made altogether of wood. His harrows and rakes would surely be made of wood, taken in all likelihood from his own wood-lot. There were no costly mowing machines for cutting hay, no reapers, binders, or threshing machines for wheat and rye to be had in those days. Hay and grain were cut by hand with a scythe, and wheat and rye were threshed out on the barn floor with a flail. The farmer needed no machines, and very few tools or implements. When he once had his stock of implements, they were so simple and so little likely to get out of repair that they lasted him for a lifetime. His household utensils, his pots and pans, might need to be replaced now and then. He might buy a clock, or a piece of furniture, or some china and glassware. But on the whole the occasions when the farmer would need to spend money would be few. He might have little to sell, and therefore never see much cash, but on the other hand, he would have little to buy and would rarely feel the need of money.

His Own Master.

This self-sustaining farmer's life that has been described naturally bred up a race of independent people. Each man was master of his own fortunes and not much inclined to

mingle his affairs with those of others or to allow others to mingle theirs with his. It is easy to see why the early farmer colonists at the time of the Revolution were afraid of a strong central government. They did not want a government so strong that it might be inclined to interfere with the actions of individuals. The individuals who made up the citizenship of the new United States felt that they were quite capable of managing their own affairs without government help. They wanted to be let alone. Their life, indeed, was in many ways the ideal life for a democratic society. Each citizen was his own master, providing his family by his own labors with the necessities of life. What he produced for himself by his own labor, any other citizen could produce for himself by similar labor. All the citizens were equals before the elemental task of wresting the means of existence from the bare earth. They needed no general government to help them to do this, and like the implements used in their farming, the simplest kind of law and government was sufficient for them.

When the government of the United States was established, no one could have foreseen that all this was to change, that in time one city of the United States would contain as many people as were then in all the thirteen colonies, or that the business of making money was to become a more attractive business than that of making a living directly out of the soil, or that certain powers in consequence of these other changes might fall into the hands of persons or groups of persons who could by the unjust exercise of these powers take away from innumerable citizens those democratic rights which the independent farmers so highly prized.

If America had continued to be a country whose social life was founded altogether upon the notion of every citizen's

owning land and of his getting a living primarily from the land, the independent kind of life which belonged to the older period might have spread all over the American continent. To a considerable extent it has. The farmer everywhere is to a greater degree master of his own fortunes than the city or factory worker. But other interests, other kinds of labor and other ways of making a living have developed, and it is in just these changes that the most notable characteristics of our modern way of living are revealed.

The Old Order Changes.

It has already been pointed out that though the American colonists bought few manufactured articles, what they did buy came mostly from England. When war broke out between England and America at the time of the Revolution, this source of supply was closed. Americans began to wake up to the fact that it might be well for them to manufacture in America the articles which the American trade demanded. This conviction was pressed home still more strongly during the War of 1812, when for a second time American ports were closed to foreign commerce. Not having foreign producers to compete with for a time, American manufacturers were then able to make a start and, once begun, to continue manufacturing even after the war ended and American ports were open again. Protective tariffs also encouraged manufacturing by placing duties on imported articles.

Industrial Development.

But these were not the most important causes of industrial development in the nineteenth century. Of greater significance were, first, increased ease of communication through the building of highways, canals and railroads; second, an

extraordinarily sudden and rapid growth in the number and the ingenuity of mechanical inventions; and, third, a large increase in population. It is obvious that a convenient and cheap method of transportation, such as a canal or railroad, would encourage manufacturing by enabling the manufacturer to procure his raw materials from a distance and also to dispose of his wares over a wide region, thus reaching more buyers. Mechanical invention aided manufacturing by building machines that could do more and quicker work than the hand-worker.

Famous Inventions.

One of the earliest and most famous of these inventions was the cotton gin. This was invented by Eli Whitney, in 1793, and it practically brought into existence the cotton-weaving industry by increasing greatly the supply and at the same time decreasing the price of raw cotton. Mechanical ingenuity was applied also to perfecting the machinery for weaving, until now some of the more highly complicated machines, for example those used in manufacturing shirts, are able to do work with more than human speed and exactness. Another notable invention was the sewing machine, which dates from 1846. About the same time, the telegraph came into use, although the telephone was not invented until 1876. But there were many other remarkable inventions just before and just after the Civil War. The use of steam in steam engines, both on railroads and for generating power, provided manufacturing with an important aid. Later came the applications of electricity, and still later the gasoline combustion engine which has made the automobile and the aeroplane possible. The automobile in practical use

dates from about the year 1900. These are only a few of the many astonishing inventions in the industrial world which have taken place within the memory of many persons still living. They have changed the character of industry and of modern life, making both more interesting, more varied and more active.

More People, More Workers.

Increase in population favored manufacturing because it made available for this purpose more persons who were not inseparably attached to the soil. This was especially true of the increase of population through immigration. During the middle decades of the nineteenth century, enormous numbers of immigrants came to America, some from England, many more from Ireland and from Germany and other Continental countries. Many of these immigrants were city people who had no desire to settle on land. Many others who might have settled on land if they had had the opportunity were unable to do so because they had no money, and good lands were now become so scarce and valuable that they could no longer be had for the asking. All these people naturally collected in the towns and cities, where they became workmen in the employ of others who paid them wages for their labor.

The Laboring Man in Our Day.

Without pausing to account in further detail for the tremendous development of industry in the past two or three generations, we may now contrast the manner of living and working of the laborers today with the conditions of labor as they existed in the first two centuries of American history.

In the first place, the average laboring man today owns no land. He lives in a city with thousands of other workers, and very rarely owns even the house in which he lives. He produces none of the things which he and his family need in daily life. He has no cow, no chickens, no pigs, no fields for corn and wheat, not even a garden for vegetables. His wife neither spins nor weaves. She makes no soap, no candles, scarcely even a shirt or a coat for her children. Everything the family needs must be bought. The family must have money, for money alone keeps the family from starvation.

The Wage-earner.

The family must have money, and the only thing it has to offer in exchange for money is the labor of the head of the family or of some of its older members. The labor of the working members of the family is not done at home. It is done in a factory in which dozens, sometimes hundreds, even thousands of other laborers are at work. It is not done when and where the worker wishes, but it is done according to the requirements of the persons who manage the factory.

Moreover, each worker in the factory does not do a variety of things, but only one thing. If the factory is a shoe factory, the separate workers do not begin with a piece of leather, as the old-fashioned cobbler did, and gradually carry this piece of leather through all the processes of manufacturing to the completed shoe. On the contrary, each worker does only a small part of the work of making a shoe, and he does this over and over again. One worker cuts the leather into proper shape, another sews the upper parts together, another puts on the soles, another sews the buttons

on, or makes the eyeholes for the laces, or does one of a dozen or more small things which, added together, finally result in a shoe.

All this means that the workers are not independent in their work. They do not plan it and arrange it and then carry it out as it seems best to them. Here again the workers do just what the manager of the factory tells them to do. They are parts in a complicated organization, and it is only by keeping the workers under strict orders that the manager of the organization can make it effective.

As a result of this management of labor and of the use of ingenious machinery, the modern factory produces the articles of its manufacture in much greater quantities and at much lower prices than was possible under the old system of working by hand. The world has become immensely richer in the possession of articles of practical use through the development of manufacturing. Books, pens, pencils, paper, hats, coats, shoes, carpets, electric light bulbs—these and innumerable other things are all made in the factories and all in a marvelous variety and abundance of forms. It would seem that almost anything that anybody could reasonably want was to be had by paying for it.

Not His Own Master.

From the worker's point of view, however, there is another result. The worker has lost his personal independence. He is no longer master of his own fortune. The world of labor now divides into the two groups of employer and employed. The employed take wages from the employers, who thus, through the wages, control the lives of the employed.

From this situation has arisen the greatest struggle of

modern times, the struggle between capital, which is the money of the employers invested in the manufacturing, and labor, as represented in the persons who do the actual work of manufacturing.

The employers or capitalists are naturally in a strong position because they have the money which the worker must have, in the form of wages, in order to live. The capitalists therefore have usually felt strong enough to manage their affairs by themselves. They have, on the whole, disapproved of government interference with industry, preferring to use the powerful resources of their money without other restrictions than those which they themselves want to make. In their dealings with the laborers they have also preferred to treat with the laborers as individuals, the individual being relatively weak as compared with the capitalist's rich organization.

Labor Unions.

On the other hand, the laborers, having lost to a large extent their personal independence, have taken in self-defense to organizing themselves into large groups or unions. Though a single individual might be helpless in treating with a strong employer, all the individuals banded together, and treating as one with the employer, would not be helpless. For the employer needs the labor of the employed as truly as the employed need the wages they receive from the employer. It is only through the labor of the employed that the capital of the employer can be made to yield a profit. Each is necessary to the other, but the questions of difference between them that have arisen, and with increasing frequency recently, concern the terms upon which they shall work together.

Collective Bargaining.

For a number of years the labor unions have been insisting on "collective bargaining" as opposed to individual bargaining with employers. They have endeavored to raise the wages of the employed, to shorten the hours of working, to increase the comfort and safety of the conditions under which the laborers work, and in all ways to improve the situation of the workers. The American Federation of Labor was organized in 1881 with something over two hundred thousand members, and it has now in the neighborhood of two million members. By its efforts, it has done much to save labor from falling into a new kind of slavery, the slavery which results from the necessity of earning wages under conditions over which the worker has no control.

Through their unions the workers have gained a certain degree of personal independence in their relations to their employers—not an individual independence, but the independence of having the strength of the group back of the individual. And though the employers in the main have preferred to trust to their own strength, the laborers, on the other hand, have constantly encouraged the general federal government to make laws controlling labor and commerce.

We find thus in the America of today a complete reversal of the state of affairs with respect to labor as compared with those of the earlier periods of American history. Then the laborers were the self-sufficing village farmers who discouraged government control of the common citizen's activities. They were independent because they had the sources of living directly under their control through the possession of land. They may not have been rich, but they were provided for. Nowadays, however, the laborer has not the sources of his living under his own control. These are in the possession

of the employers, who in turn would like to be left undisturbed in the exercise of the power which this possession gives them. But the workers, individually weak, seek to acquire strength by banding together in unions, and also by putting the power of the general government on their side in their pursuit of life, liberty and happiness.

Such in brief is the great struggle between capital and labor which has been going on since the beginning of factory labor in the United States, and which is still going on today. The struggle is not peculiar to America. Other countries also have their conflicts between the employed and the employers, resulting often in strikes, lockouts and other violent expressions of difference of opinion.

What will be the end of this struggle? To this question no one can give an answer because we are still too much in the midst of it. We can say this, however, that no solution of the problems of capital and labor will be a satisfactory solution which does not make the position of labor honorable, and which does not assure to the laborer and his family a manner of living independent, comfortable and happy. As a citizen of the United States he can be satisfied with nothing less than this.



BOOK VII

HISTORY IN THE MAKING

XXIII

A MODERN STATESMAN

WHEN one reads history, it often seems as though all the great men lived and died a long time ago, and that important events happened only in distant ages. But the people of this generation at least have no right to complain of the lack of stirring events or of the dearth of great characters. History has never been made so startlingly and so rapidly as in the years of the first quarter of the twentieth century. And certainly the leaders in the recent political life of America have been no less numerous and no less active than those of the earlier years of the republic.

A Leader in Time of Peace.

One of these leaders who produced a powerful impression upon the Americans of his day, an impression which will not soon be forgotten, was Theodore Roosevelt. It was not as a leader in time of war that Roosevelt aroused the enthusiastic admiration of the American people. Peace also has its duties and opportunities, and especially in a government by the people, eternal watchfulness is the price the people must pay to maintain the liberties for which their fathers fought.

This was the great achievement of Roosevelt, that by his energy and public spirit he made the American people understand as they had never done before that the life of the nation depends upon the way each American meets his daily obligations as an American citizen. He made the

American people realize that their liberties may be lost as certainly by neglect as by defeat in battle, and as an example of good citizenship he showed also how the nation's liberties and rights must be preserved.

Youth, School and College.

Roosevelt was fortunate in the outward circumstances of his life. He was a member, on his father's side, of a Dutch family that had been settled in New York for generations, the earliest of the line being a certain Claes Martensen van Roosevelt who emigrated from Holland to New Amsterdam about 1644. In the New World the Roosevelts prospered, and the father of Theodore occupied a distinguished position in the New York of his day as a man of wealth and public spirit. Theodore's mother was of a Virginian family.

Roosevelt was born in New York City on October 27, 1858, and in his early years he enjoyed all the advantages that the wealth and distinguished social position of his family could give him. As a child his health was not good, and his early education was carried on mainly at home. By careful exercising and healthful outdoor living, however, he overcame this weakness, and throughout the later years of his life he was remarkably strong and vigorous. He enjoyed all kinds of vigorous outdoor sports—rowing, swimming, tennis, riding, hiking, camping, hunting, and especially the study of wild animal life.

When he reached college age, Roosevelt went to Harvard. He made a good, but not a remarkable, record as a student. In scholarship he ranked twenty-second in a class of one hundred and seventy members. He was particularly interested in natural history, as indeed he had been before he went to college. Speaking of his college career, Roosevelt

himself has said that "there was very little in my actual studies which helped me in after life." If he had become an engineer or a doctor or a lawyer in his after life, Roosevelt would have found his actual college studies more useful and helpful. But none of these professions was the career that Roosevelt selected at the close of his college course. He did study law for a time, but not for long, and he never became a practicing lawyer. In fact Roosevelt had no definite leanings toward any business or any profession. He had an income large enough for his comfortable support, and if he had wanted to do so, he could have settled down to a life of ease and pleasure. But Roosevelt could not lead the life of the idle rich. He was a man of too much energy and seriousness of purpose to do that.

Breaking into Politics.

What Roosevelt made up his mind to do was something that struck many of his friends as being both useless and beneath his dignity. He proposed, as he expressed it, "to break into politics" with the hope of helping to bring about some much-needed improvement in the government of New York City. But the friends and companions of his own class were amused at what they thought was a freak notion on Roosevelt's part. They said that politics was not a gentleman's business and that it was impossible to associate with a lot of "dirty politicians."

It was unfortunately true that the politics of New York at that time were corrupt, but it seems to be true also that politics will always be corrupt to a certain extent. Selfish ambitions will always make them so. But no matter how corrupt the politics of any community, they do not cease for that reason to be a public concern. On the contrary, the

more corrupt politics are, the greater necessity for all decent citizens to take an active part in them in order that they may be made better and in order that the honest and conscientious members of the community, who are always in the majority, may have the kind of government they really want.

A Gentleman in Politics.

These were the arguments that Roosevelt pondered in his mind. The conclusion to which he came was that it was not beneath the dignity of a gentleman, not beneath the dignity of any American, to be interested in politics. The disgrace, indeed, lay on the other side. Roosevelt believed that it was beneath the dignity of a gentleman or of any self-respecting citizen to stand by inactively while a pack of dishonest officeholders mismanaged the public funds which the citizens had paid for the carrying on of the necessary work of the government. The final test of a democratic government is that the citizens shall take enough interest in it to secure the rights and liberties that belong to them. If they do not, the government ceases to be a democracy.

As the first step in carrying out his purpose of breaking into politics, Roosevelt accepted a candidacy for election to the New York Assembly as a Republican from one of the districts of New York City. In the elections of that fall he was chosen assemblyman by a good majority, being then only twenty-three years old. He was twice reelected, but at the end of his third term he refused the nomination for a fourth term.

During the three terms of his service as assemblyman at Albany, Roosevelt learned much about politics, and he made a strong impression, both among the politicians and the citizens of New York, as a frank and outspoken opponent

of public abuses and corruption. "Fighting and fearless, constantly adding to his reputation among the good as a high type of reformer, and adding to the detestation in which the bad held him," Roosevelt completed his third term at Albany as assemblyman from New York City, and then for a time left politics. He broke away completely from his old associations at the end of his third term, and in the year 1884 he bought an interest in the Chimney Butte and Elkhorn cattle ranches among the Bad Lands on the Little Missouri in North Dakota.

Ranching in Dakota.

For the next two years Roosevelt passed most of his time as a ranchman. "He went on long rides after the cattle, he rounded them up, he helped to brand them and to cut out the beeves destined for the Eastern market. He followed the herd when it stampeded in a terrific thunderstorm. In winter there was often need to save the wandering cattle from a sudden and deadly blizzard. The log cabin or 'shack' in which he dwelt was rough, and so was the fare; comforts were few. He chopped the cottonwood which they used for fuel; he knew how to care for the ponies; and once at least he passed more than twenty-four hours in the saddle without sleep."

Elkhorn ranch in North Dakota may be described as Roosevelt's third college. His first was Harvard, where he saw illustrated the meaning of honest and thorough thinking. His second was the assembly hall at Albany, where he studied the methods of practical politics. The third was his ranch, where he learned to hold his own with cowboys and rough riders, broadening his sympathies to include the West with the East in his view of American life, and the flannel-

shirted ranchmen and rough riders of the range with the neat dwellers in the cities.

At Sagamore Hill.

But Roosevelt was not destined to pass the rest of his days on a cattle ranch in North Dakota. He enjoyed this life while he was in it, the hardships as well as the pleasures. He made long hunting trips, and he never wearied of the wide open stretches of the barren prairie. Many of his experiences he has described in his books about the West, and now that the ranching life of the West has so completely passed away, there is no better way of knowing about it than by reading Roosevelt's narrations.

The particular call which brought Roosevelt back to his eastern home from North Dakota was his nomination as mayor of New York on an Independent ticket. In the election that followed he was defeated. But he did not return to his ranch. He settled down instead on his Sagamore Hill estate at Oyster Bay on Long Island, where many of the happiest moments of his life were spent with his wife and children about him. For more than thirty strenuous years Sagamore Hill was his home, and it was at Sagamore Hill, on January 6, 1919, in his sixty-first year, that he breathed his last.

Winning of the West and Other Books.

Roosevelt's chief occupations immediately after his return from the West were literary. While he was still at college, he had begun a history of the navy of the United States in the War of 1812. This book had been completed and published before he went West. His mind was now stored with

a fresh stock of material derived from his ranching experiences. These experiences took shape in the volumes of his *Winning of the West*.

All through his life Roosevelt wrote much—books on hunting, exploration and ranch life, essays, addresses, letters and newspaper articles. One of the astonishing things about Roosevelt is that he did so many things and did them all so well. He was at his ease in the city or on the ranch, with the rough cowboy or the fine gentleman, at the author's desk or in the turmoil and conflict of public affairs.

With all his interest in writing, however, authorship was only one of the minor activities of Roosevelt's life. He was not content to be merely an observer and historian of life. He wanted to take an active and constructive part in it, and it is characteristic of him that whenever he saw an opportunity to perform some public service he never hesitated.

Civil Service Commissioner and Police Commissioner.

His next opportunity came when he was offered the position of Civil Service Commissioner at Washington. Many of his friends advised him not to accept this appointment, because they thought it was not important enough for him. But Roosevelt saw a useful work to be done in the Civil Service, and he put aside any personal ambitions he may have had in order to perform this work.

After six years as Civil Service Commissioner, Roosevelt was appointed president of the Board of Police Commissioners of New York City. The police of a great city have many opportunities to indulge in extortion, graft and other abuses of their authority, and when Roosevelt took control of it, the police system of New York was notoriously cor-

rupt. To reform all these evils could be neither a pleasant nor a short job. But Roosevelt set resolutely to work, and as a keen observer of the time said, he presented "to the young men of the country the spectacle of a very important office administered by a man of high character in the most efficient way and amid a thousand difficulties."

Important though the work of Police Commissioner in New York was, Roosevelt was not content to remain in it permanently. When he was offered the position of Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he therefore gladly accepted it and returned again to Washington. Soon after this the war between Spain and America broke out, and Roosevelt raised a regiment of volunteer cavalry, known as the Rough Riders, to assist in this war. Many of the Rough Riders were old friends from Roosevelt's ranching days. Of this regiment Roosevelt became first lieutenant-colonel and later colonel. He led his regiment at the battle of San Juan Hill, and he shared with his men the dangers and discomforts of a tedious campaign in an unhealthy tropical country.

Governor, Vice-President and President.

At the close of the Spanish War Roosevelt was widely known and more popular than ever. The Republican party of New York now nominated him as its candidate for governor of the State, and the voters at the polls showed their approval by casting their votes to elect him. As governor Roosevelt continued the policy of reform of public evils which he had pursued in his earlier public offices. He did not always have the support of the rank and file of the politicians, of the "machine," as it is called, for they often considered him a trouble-maker. It was easier to let abuses alone, so long as no one violently objected. But Roosevelt

was not of this easy-going temperament. When he saw an evil to be corrected, he spoke out frankly and fearlessly, and in many instances the politicians finally came to his support. They were forced to do so because public opinion was aroused against them.

Before his term as governor of New York was out, Roosevelt was nominated for a higher office. He was the choice of the Republican party for the office of Vice-President in the campaign of 1900. William McKinley was nominated for a second term as President, and McKinley and Roosevelt were elected by a sweeping victory over their Democratic opponents.

Within less than a year after he was inaugurated as President for his second term, William McKinley was shot by a Polish anarchist in Buffalo. After a week of suffering, McKinley died of his wounds and Theodore Roosevelt took the oath of office as President of the United States. The highest honor in the gift of the country thus fell to his lot, not by election but by a dreadful accident. In the campaign of 1904, however, Roosevelt was the candidate for reëlection by the Republican party, and his popularity was so great that he was elected by an overwhelming majority.

At the close of this second term as President, Roosevelt refused to be considered as a candidate for a third term. He retired to private, but by no means to a quiet life. He traveled a great deal, he made a voyage of exploration through an unknown region of South America, and he always took a prominent part in the discussion of the questions that concerned the welfare of America and the world. Almost to the very end he continued to write and to make public addresses on matters of general interest, and when at last his pen lay still and his voice was no longer heard, he left behind

him upon the minds of the American people the living image of a rich and powerful character.

A man as outspoken and frank as Roosevelt naturally aroused opposition as well as enthusiastic approval. On all the questions of public concern in his day he expressed himself clearly and forcibly, and so far as he had power, he put his convictions into practice. He was not an advocate of halfway measures, of timid compromises, or of muddling. It is too much to expect of human nature that he should have been always right, but there was never any doubt where he stood. A review of his life is therefore one of the best ways of comprehending the many questions of national policy which have arisen for discussion and decision in recent times.

Imperialism.

One of these questions was what is known as imperialism. As a result of the Spanish War, America found herself in possession of the former island colonies of Spain in the West Indies and the Philippines. The question was what to do with these islands. On the one hand, the opponents of imperialism maintained that the United States should have no responsibilities for anything or anybody outside her own limits, and that the thing to do was to get rid of the islands at once. The attitude of the anti-imperialists was America for America, and let the rest of the world take care of itself.

On the other side were the imperialists, of whom Roosevelt was the leader and spokesman. Roosevelt was not a friend to the notion that America should go out and conquer new countries in order to build up a great colonial empire. But he did maintain that America had responsibilities towards the rest of the world, and especially to those helpless Spanish

provinces that the fortunes of war had delivered into the hands of the United States.

In the general relations of the United States toward foreign countries, Roosevelt was an advocate of preparedness. He did not believe that Americans could sit at home in the comfortable conviction that if they troubled no one, no one would trouble them. To Roosevelt's mind, innocence was not in itself a sufficient defense. An evil nation with a strong navy and army might easily destroy a harmless nation without a navy and army. Roosevelt summed up his attitude when he said, "Speak softly, but carry a big stick." The fact that a nation carried a big stick was one of the surest guarantees that it would not be necessary to use it.

When the Great War broke out in Europe in August, 1914, Roosevelt was unsparing in his denunciation of the way in which Germany disregarded her treaties and violated the common decencies and rights of human life. For over two years after the beginning of the war, the United States maintained her neutrality, if not in thought, at least in action. But when it seemed at last no longer possible to continue in a neutral position and war against Germany was declared by President Wilson on April 6, 1917, by his constant and fearless public discussion of the questions of the war Roosevelt had done much to prepare the American people to face this dreaded necessity with courage and conviction.

A Public Office is a Public Trust.

One principle of government for which Roosevelt stood from the very beginning of his political career was the simple but often disregarded principle of honesty and conscientiousness in the performance of public duties. Many men who

may be honest and sincere in their private lives seem not to feel the necessity of exercising these virtues in public affairs. But in whatever office he held, Roosevelt was always a reformer. He labored to correct governmental abuses, and he strove always to introduce into politics the same qualities of plain speaking and honest dealing which a man always insists upon in his private relations with other men. He made Americans understand a new kind of morality, a morality of the public life as exacting as that of the private life.

Conservation.

With the powerful support of Roosevelt behind it, the idea of the conservation of natural resources was first brought home to the American public. The people, indeed, readily recognized the necessity of preserving the forests, the water power and the other natural resources of the country. The opposition to conservation came mainly from business concerns that were intent upon utilizing these natural resources of the country for immediate profit, caring nothing for the future or the common welfare so long as the greed of the moment was satisfied. It was in situations like this that Roosevelt was most effective. Nothing strengthened him so much as the sight of selfishness and meanness of spirit in an opponent. During his administration as President, he carried out various large plans for conserving and sensibly using the country's natural resources, but he performed a greater service in bringing to the country as a whole a realization of the importance of this subject.

Capital and Labor.

The most troubled and the most difficult questions of the last half century have been those that have arisen between

capital and labor. Many of these questions seemed to come to a head during Roosevelt's administration, and in the decision of them he took his usual clean-cut position. In general, Roosevelt was opposed to any attempts of powerful capitalistic organizations to influence legislation and thus to secure public action favorable to them. Large companies might readily acquire enormous power, especially by banding together into trusts. All the producers of a particular article, by combining into a single organization, or trust, might be able to control the whole supply of that article—meat, coal, oil, leather or any other common necessity of life—and thus to fix the price of it to suit themselves. The private citizen, who must be ultimately the consumer of all these articles, would of course be weak and helpless in comparison with the power of the rich and highly organized trust.

Roosevelt was not opposed to the organizing of business into trusts or into any kind of combination that increased the efficiency of business. He was not opposed to big business and large-scale production in themselves. But he maintained that when business acquired such powers as to become dangerous to the liberty and welfare of the private citizen, then business must submit to inspection and to regulation by the government. The right of the private citizen to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness was greater than the right of any combination in business to profit at the expense of these foundation promises of American democracy.

But though Roosevelt was convinced that the great money interests in the country must submit to governmental curbing and regulation, he was not a blind supporter of labor in the struggle between capital and labor. In his speech on the New Nationalism, he quoted with approval the words of Lincoln, that "Labor is the superior of capital and deserves

much the higher consideration." But he never allowed the labor organizations of the country to forget that the laborer also has his duties and obligations, that the claims of justice are as legitimate against labor as against capital. He warned labor against attempting to secure its ends by violence, and insisted that no class, neither capital nor labor, was superior to the law. He was the friend of the weak and helpless, the foe of the arrogant and selfish, but he demanded that each should be fair to the other. What every man had a right to was a square deal. "More than that no man is entitled to, and less than that no man shall have."

The Man of Action.

These were some of the opinions for which Theodore Roosevelt stood. But there was something besides this particular set of opinions that endeared him to the American people. This was his untiring freshness and liveliness of interest. He was never lukewarm, never listless or world-weary. He responded at once to every touch of human life. The slothful and the lazy saw themselves as they were in the light of his vivid personality. Roosevelt quickened the tone of American life. He made men realize more keenly than they had ever done before both the duties and the pleasures of living.

No one can measure the effect of such a life as Roosevelt's. He gave to America a new standard of effort, and for generations to come Americans no doubt will still be striving to reach this standard. And yet Roosevelt was not more than human. He merely revealed the possibilities of human nature. A lady who was looking for some great hero tried to find him in Roosevelt. "I always wanted to make Roosevelt out that," said she, "but somehow, every time he did some-

thing that seemed really great, it turned out, upon looking at it closely, that it *was only just the right thing to do.*"

For higher praise than this, no hero need ever ask. To do great things and then to have men discover that they were only just the right things to do, falls to the lot of few men. But they are the few by whom the world grows.

XXIV

THE GREAT WAR, 1914-1918

WHEN Washington neared the end of his second term of office as President of the United States in 1796, he delivered his famous Farewell Address to the American people. In this address he gave his final words of advice to the new nation, and among other memorable counsels, he expressed the wish that America "should keep clear of any permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world."

This advice from the lips of the father of his country passed into the tradition of American life. Americans accepted it and cherished it as a rule of public conduct. Within her own bounds, America had problems and opportunities enough to keep her busy. She was different from other countries, for America was a democracy and the countries of Europe were kingdoms and empires. All that America asked for was to be let alone, free from entangling alliances with any of the governments of the Old World.

The Monroe Doctrine.

As America was not to become involved in alliances with the governments of the Old World, so also it was held by Americans that the governments of the Old World must not in any way interfere with the free development of the governments of the American continent. This latter conviction took form in what is known as the Monroe Doctrine.

This Doctrine was set forth by President Monroe in his annual message to Congress in 1823. It was occasioned by the fact that certain European nations were endeavoring to gain control of some of the South American countries which had claimed their independence and had established governments of their own.

The principle of the Monroe Doctrine thus was that not only must the United States be free from aggression on the part of any European powers, but also that the whole of the North and South American continents was no longer to be regarded as a field for European colonization and conquest. "The American continents," said President Monroe in this message, "by the free and independent position which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by European powers." "We should consider any attempt on their part," the message continues, "to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." "Interposition by any European power for the purpose of oppressing the independent American governments, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, would be viewed as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

In general the European powers heeded this warning to Keep Off. Only two or three times has it been necessary for the American government to call attention to the Monroe Doctrine in its dealings with European powers. On the whole, America has been free from foreign interference and has enjoyed to the full its "magnificent isolation." Treaties of commerce and treaties for other specific purposes have been made with foreign countries from time to time, but throughout the greater part of her history America avoided

alliances that might involve her in the political complications of Europe.

The Monroe Doctrine, however, has been somewhat extended of recent years, not to include European governments, but to define more exactly the relations of the United States toward the other republican governments of the North and South American continents. President Roosevelt made it quite clear that the United States could insist on the doctrine that no European power should interfere with any American government only if the United States itself should keep free from suspicion of desiring to conquer and to add to her territory any of the other countries of the New World, and only if the Monroe Doctrine were not made the excuse on the part of any American government not to fulfill its just obligations and to pay its just debt to some European government. And finally, declared President Roosevelt, "inasmuch as by this doctrine we prevent other nations from interfering on this side of the water, we shall ourselves in good faith try to help those of our sister Republics which need such help, upward toward peace and order."

America for Americans.

Such in brief may be said to have been the traditional American policy—America for Americans, without interference from Europe—and if alliances were to be made, they were to be made for mutual help between the several American republics, not between the United States and the powers of Europe. Such was the traditional policy when an event happened in Europe which, by its consequences, showed that the United States could no longer maintain its isolation, that the civilization of the modern world had developed in such

a way that no nation that wished to take part in this civilization could live to itself alone.

This event was something which at first seemed not at all to concern the United States. It happened early in August, 1914, when Germany invaded French territory and undertook the conquest of France by force of arms. That war between France and Germany might come about had long been feared in Europe. But when German troops moved into France, both directly and through Belgium, this action came so suddenly and unexpectedly that for a moment the world was paralyzed with astonishment and horror.

But only for a moment. Soon the nations of Europe were banded together in two great opposing groups. On the one side were the Central Powers, mainly Germany and Austria, and on the other side, and opposing the attack of the Germans, were the Allies, France, Belgium, Russia, England, all of whom declared war against the Central Powers before the close of this fateful month of August, 1914. Thus was begun the most destructive war in the history of mankind. Soon other countries of Europe entered the war, including Italy, Greece and some of the smaller countries, until in the end practically the whole of Europe became involved in the Great War.

Neutrality in the Great War.

In the incidents which led up to the Great War, and in the issues at stake, there seemed to be at first nothing that vitally concerned the United States. To the Americans, the battles of the European nations seemed "unhappy far-off things" which the Europeans must be left to settle for themselves. The government of the United States therefore assumed a

position of strict neutrality. It sided officially neither with one nor the other group of warring nations. On August 18, 1914, President Wilson published a message in which he urged upon the American people that "we must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle before another."

To be impartial in action was possible to the government of the United States, but the people of the United States found it difficult to remain neutral in thought and sentiment. By her violent disregard of the simplest rights of humanity, Germany soon aroused the hostility of the American people and put them, in feeling at least, on the side of the Allies. As the war continued, this feeling increased. For it became apparent that not only was Germany disinclined to respect the human rights of her European neighbors, but that the rights of American citizens likewise would not be respected.

The Lusitania.

As neutrals, the citizens of the United States had certain rights assured to them by the principles of international law, as international law had hitherto been accepted among civilized peoples. One of the principles of international law was that no merchant vessel should be attacked and sunk without warning and without giving neutrals and non-combatants on the ship the opportunity of leaving the ship in safety. In violation of this principle, a German submarine torpedoed the great ship *Lusitania* on May 14, 1915, near the coast of Ireland. No notification of the attack was given, and the passengers were allowed no chance to escape. The ship sank, and about sixteen hundred innocent people were

drowned, among them more than one hundred Americans.

This was but one of many instances. The government of the United States protested, and though Germany made promises to discontinue the practice of sinking merchant ships without allowing crews and passengers to escape, the promises were not kept. But even the promises of amendment were finally given up, and in the early part of 1917, Germany entered upon a policy of unrestricted submarine warfare, with the intent of sinking all ships, neutral or any other, that attempted to approach the ports of her enemies. Americans were allowed, however, by the permission of the German government, to send one ship a week, provided the ship sailed on a certain route marked out by the Germans on the map, flew a certain flag, was painted a certain color, and carried only passengers and goods deemed by the Germans to be harmless to themselves.

Making the World Safe for Democracy.

The insult to American pride contained in these German proclamations and by the earlier ruthless disregard of American rights was greater than could be endured. The Americans would gladly have kept out of the European war. It was not their war, to begin with, and they would have asked for nothing better than to have it settled without involving them in it. As the war continued, however, the conviction grew stronger and stronger in America that the real struggle taking place in Europe was not merely between several European governments, but that it was a struggle between two great principles. On the one side stood Germany, with a strong military organization, determined to seize by bloody conquest whatever she wanted. Germany represented the power of the cannon and the machine gun. On the other

side stood the Allies, whose very existence depended upon their ability to stem the tide of ruthless conquest that was rolling in upon them from Germany. And not only were the European allies threatened, but any place on the habited globe might in turn be attacked as France and Belgium had been attacked. No country was safe that might happen to stand in the path of the conquering armies of Germany.

America Enters the War.

These were the convictions that finally led the American people to see that they must take their place by the side of the Allies. They must fight not merely to save Europe, but to save themselves. They must fight to make the world safe for democracy. They saw that even the right and the desire to be peaceful must be defended when it is attacked by an enemy that recognizes no rights and no desires except its own. They saw that America must fight in order to make the voice of the people stronger than the voice of gunpowder speaking through the cannon of ambitious military commanders.

So it was that America accepted with relief and enthusiasm the declaration of war by the United States against Germany on April 6, 1917. The war had already lasted almost three years. By the following June, the first American troops had landed in France. It was not, however, until three or four months later that they began taking an active part in the fighting. The commander-in-chief of the American forces in France was General John Joseph Pershing, and soon American soldiers were fighting side by side with French and British veterans on the bloody battlefields of France.



AMERICA ENTERS THE WORLD WAR

The addition of the Americans to the forces of the Allies aided in turning the tide of battle in favor of the Allied cause. Not only by her soldiers on the battle front, but also by generous supplies of money and munitions to the war-weary Allies, America helped in the winning of the victory over the Central Powers. To the immense relief of the whole world, the end of fighting came when, on November 11, 1918, and at the request of the German military commanders, an armistice was agreed upon. The final treaty of peace between Germany and the other European powers was signed in June and July, 1919, but the formal treaty of peace between Germany and the United States was not made until two years later. Active fighting ceased, however, at the time the armistice was signed, though the last regiments of American soldiers on the European continent were not brought back home until March, 1923.

Results of the Great War.

The Great War is so recent that in some respects the results of it cannot be realized or measured. Out of it have come, however, certain definite changes that have passed into history. The most striking and dramatic of these were the abdication of the German Emperor at the request of his people and the changing of the German empire into a republic. Before this the Russian Czar had been deposed and executed by the Russian people, who then proceeded to take charge of their own government. Thus it happened that the two most autocratic governments in Europe were carried down in the ruin of the Great War, and that in place of them new governments for and by the people have come into being.

The United States and the Great War.

The consequences of the Great War for the United States are not so startling, though in the end they may prove to be no less far-reaching and important. One fact stands out sharply and clearly. As a consequence of the Great War, for the first time in the history of the United States American soldiers set foot upon the soil of Europe and fought side by side with European soldiers in defense of European governments and peoples. The Great War showed that there were limits to the "magnificent isolation" which the American people so long had maintained with pride. It showed that innocence and a desire to keep the peace are not in themselves a sufficient protection, and that when a public enemy threatens the civilization of the world, the United States is so much a part of the civilized world that it cannot sit back inactive and let the rest of the world take care of itself.

The Great War showed the need of a kind of world Monroe Doctrine. The principle of the Monroe Doctrine was that no part of the two American continents was subject to conquest, and that no nation of North or South America, the weak nor the strong, was to be interfered with, but was only to be aided, if aid should be needed, in the peaceful carrying on of its own government. A similar principle for the whole world would mean that no part of the world is open for conquest, that the stronger nations of the world may not oppress the weaker, and that no nation anywhere, not even the smallest, may be prevented from maintaining such government as the people of the nation consider to be necessary for their happy existence.

In the beginning of America's history the ancient kingdoms of Europe brought the gift of their civilization to the

New World. Here this civilization took root and flourished. It may be that the Great War has opened the way by which this gift is now to be returned, not as it was received, but changed and enriched with all the added meaning that American democracy has given to the civilized life of mankind.

XXV

AMERICA TODAY

OVER one hundred millions is the present population of the United States. These hundred millions of men, women and children are the living America of today. Comparatively very few of them know each other or have ever seen each other, but they are nevertheless one family. They are the great family of the American nation, united by common interests in government and by common love of their country. Upon their shoulders now rests the responsibility for the present and for the future of their country, just as it formerly rested upon the shoulders of the successive generations of their ancestors.

The Happy Land.

Someone has said that the happiest peoples are those that have no histories. By this he meant that the happiest peoples were those whose lives passed so peacefully and busily in the ordinary occupations of their daily lives that, as they looked back, they found no startling, no violent or revolutionary experiences to record. It is true that when one reads history, it does seem as though wars and battles, injustice and tyranny, deaths of kings and leaders and other similar unhappy events form a very large part of the story. But the past is longer than the present, and therefore many incidents must be compressed into the narrative of the past.

And in telling the story of the past, the historian naturally selects the most striking and picturesque happenings.

The present also has its history, however, and the less violent, the happier it is likely to be. If one should sit down and make a list of the matters which today interest the American people, and which, as they are acted upon, will make the history that the children of the next generation will read about, this list might be long and varied.

The League of Nations.

First of all would come certain questions that have arisen from the Great War. Of these the proposal of a League of Nations, for the purpose of enforcing peace upon the world, is the most important. The question now debated by the American people is whether the United States should join such a league, and if so, on what terms it should unite with the nations of Europe and the rest of the world in order to secure the enforcement of the purposes of the league. This question is still undecided, and only time can tell what the final opinion of the American people will be.

The World Court.

Closely related to the notion of a League of Nations is the notion of a World Court. This would be a court in which points of disagreement between two or more nations could be tried and peaceably settled, somewhat as the Supreme Court of the United States settles points of disagreement between two States, or among a number of States. Here again the extent to which the United States shall participate in such a World Court is still under debate and must be left for future decision. The history of the League of Nations and of the World Court is still in the making.

Great sums of money were borrowed by one country from another during the Great War, and the United States was a heavy lender to its allies, especially England and France. This situation has given rise to many serious problems of finance. Various proposals for settling these financial complications have been made, but the affairs of modern business are so intricate and difficult to understand that after much discussion no satisfactory solution of the matter has yet revealed itself.

Public Questions.

These are some of the important questions which concern the United States in its relations to foreign countries today. But at home also many projects of great public interest are before the country. The old conflict between capital and labor continues to come up in ever-changing new forms. The extent to which the government shall regulate great business corporations and shall take part in establishing relations between the employer and the employed, the wage-giver and the wage-earner, still calls for discussion and for new legislation. Government ownership of great public utilities, such as railroads, and of necessary commodities, such as coal, is also at present much debated. The control of the foreign elements of the American population, and the regulation and limitation of immigration into the country, are some further living questions of the day. The matter of taxation is always troublesome, and new methods and new principles of taxation are continually being proposed, and some of them put into practice.

New Laws.

Of recent years two important amendments to the Constitution have been made. The last of these, the Woman Suf-

frage amendment, one may say has passed into history with little comment or dissent. The Woman Suffrage amendment has been put into practice peaceably, and women now vote at the polls without question or friction.

The Eighteenth Amendment, however, though it has become a part of the Constitution of the United States and is obeyed by all law-abiding citizens, has nevertheless not met with the unanimous approval of the American people. In the enforcement of prohibition as required by the amendment, it has been necessary to pass many new laws, and just how these laws should be phrased and how they should be executed has caused much discussion and difference of opinion. The result is still doubtful. All laws are open for debate, and if public opinion decides that a law was badly made, the government of the United States has authority by which it may change the law. The great necessity is that discussion shall be free and open until a satisfactory conclusion is reached.

The Future.

Besides these matters of immediate concern, the thoughtful citizens of America are also turning their minds to more general subjects that will in all probability call for action in the future. No reasonable person supposes that the government of the United States has reached an absolutely perfect and final form. There is room for improvement, and sincere inquiry into the best methods and purposes of government, and of the right attitudes of human beings toward each other in their social relations, will surely bring about these improvements.

Just what will be the result, however, of the discussion of these various questions at issue, no one at present can defi-

nately say. They are the points at which the future history of America is being made. In these and in many other ways, in national and in local affairs, the country is growing. The results must be left to the wisdom of the American people, whose purpose in the future, if one may judge from the past, will be to secure to American citizens, among all the changes of opinion, the opportunity to live their lives peacefully, freely and happily.



APPENDIX

'APPENDIX

I

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE ¹

In Congress, July 4, 1776.

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

WHEN in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms

¹ Reprinted from Old South Leaflets, No. 3.

to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harrass our People, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign merce-

naries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free People.

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain,

is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire—JOSIAH BARTLETT, WM. WHIPPLE, MATTHEW THORNTON.

Massachusetts Bay—SAML. ADAMS, JOHN ADAMS, ROBT. TREAT PAINE, ELBRIDGE GERRY.

Rhode Island—STEP. HOPKINS, WILLIAM ELLERY.

Connecticut—ROGER SHERMAN, SAM'EL HUNTINGTON, WM. WILLIAMS, OLIVER WOLCOTT.

New York—WM. FLOYD, PHIL. LIVINGSTON, FRANS. LEWIS, LEWIS MORRIS.

New Jersey—RICHD. STOCKTON, JNO. WITHERSPOON, FRAS. HOPKINSON, JOHN HART, ABRA. CLARK.

Pennsylvania—ROBT. MORRIS, BENJAMIN RUSH, BENJA. FRANKLIN, JOHN MORTON, GEO. CLYMER, JAS. SMITH, GEO. TAYLOR, JAMES WILSON, GEO. ROSS.

Delaware—CÆSAR RODNEY, GEO. READ, THO. M'KEAN.

Maryland—SAMUEL CHASE, WM. PACA, THOS. STONE, CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton.

Virginia—GEORGE WYTHE, RICHARD HENRY LEE, TH., JEFFERSON, BENJA. HARRISON, THOS. NELSON, jr., FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE, CARTER BRAXTON.

North Carolina—WM. HOOPER, JOSEPH HEWES, JOHN PENN.

South Carolina—EDWARD RUTLEDGE, THOS. HEYWARD, JUNR., THOMAS LYNCH, JUNR., ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

Georgia—BUTTON GWINNETT, LYMAN HALL, GEO. WALTON.

II

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES ¹

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION I.

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II.

The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three

¹ Reprinted from Old South Leaflets, No. 1.

years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of *New Hampshire* shall be entitled to choose three, *Massachusetts* eight, *Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* one, *Connecticut* five, *New York* six, *New Jersey* four, *Pennsylvania* eight, *Delaware* one, *Maryland* six, *Virginia* ten, *North Carolina* five, *South Carolina* five, and *Georgia* three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III.

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President

pro tempore in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV.

The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.

Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceeding, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.

The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII.

All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that house it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If

any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII.

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post-offices and post-roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offenses against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.

The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

No capitation or other direct tax shall be paid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

SECTION X.

No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION I.

The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four

years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.] ¹

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

¹ This clause of the Constitution has been amended. See twelfth article of the amendments.

No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he may have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION II.

The President shall be Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the

Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur ; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law ; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III.

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient ; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper ; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers ; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV.

The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION I.

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and

shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.

The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.

Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION I.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.

The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION III.

New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular State.

SECTION IV.

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature, or of the

executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress, provided that no amendments which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

George Washington, President, and Deputy from VIRGINIA.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

MASSACHUSETTS—Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.

CONNECTICUT—William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman.

NEW YORK—Alexander Hamilton.

NEW JERSEY—William Livingston, David Brearly, William Patterson, Jonathan Dayton.

PENNSYLVANIA—Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris.

DELAWARE—George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom.

MARYLAND—James McHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll.

VIRGINIA—John Blair, James Madison, Jr.

NORTH CAROLINA—William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson.

SOUTH CAROLINA—John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.

GEORGIA—William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Attest: William Jackson, *Secretary*.

AMENDMENTS.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

APPENDIX

ARTICLE II.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for ob-

taining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII.

The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall

make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States,

authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI.

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII.

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election

or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII.

SECTION 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

SECTION 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIX.

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

The first ten amendments were proposed in 1789, and adopted in 1791.

The eleventh amendment was proposed in 1794, and adopted in 1798.

The twelfth amendment was proposed in 1803, and adopted in 1804.

The thirteenth amendment was proposed and adopted in 1865.

The fourteenth amendment was proposed in 1866, and adopted in 1868.

The fifteenth amendment was proposed in 1869, and adopted in 1870.

The sixteenth amendment was proposed and adopted in 1913.

The seventeenth amendment was proposed and adopted in 1913.

The eighteenth amendment was proposed in 1917, and adopted in 1919.

The nineteenth amendment was proposed in 1918, and adopted in 1920.

III

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

1. George Washington
1789-1797
born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, Feb. 22, 1732; died at Mount Vernon, Virginia, Dec. 14, 1799. Twice elected unanimously, the first term from 1789 to 1793, the second term from 1793 to 1797.
2. John Adams
1797-1801
born at Braintree, Mass., Oct. 30, 1735; died at Quincy, Mass., July 4, 1826.
3. Thomas Jefferson
1801-1809
born in Albemarle County, Virginia, April 13, 1743; died at Monticello, Virginia, July 4, 1826, the same day as John Adams.
4. James Madison
1809-1817
born at Port Conway, Virginia, March 16, 1751; died at Montpelier, Orange County, Virginia, June 28, 1836.
5. James Monroe
1817-1825
born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, April 28, 1758; died at New York, July 4, 1831.
6. John Quincy Adams
1825-1829
born at Braintree, Mass., July 11, 1767; died at Washington, D. C., Feb. 23, 1848. He was the son of President John Adams.
7. Andrew Jackson
1829-1837
born in Union County, North Carolina, March 15, 1767; died at the Hermitage, near Nashville, Tennessee, June 8, 1845.
8. Martin Van Buren
1837-1841
born at Kinderhook, New York, Dec. 5, 1782; died at the same place, July 24, 1862.
9. William Henry Harrison
March 4, 1841—April 4, 1841
born at Berkeley, Charles City County, Virginia, Feb. 9, 1773; died at Washington, D. C., April 4, 1841, one month after his inauguration.
10. John Tyler
April 4, 1841-1845
born at Greenway, Charles City County, Virginia, March 29, 1790; died at Richmond, Virginia, Jan. 18, 1862. As Vice-President, he became President on the death of William Henry Harrison.

11. James Knox Polk
1845–1849
born in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, Nov. 2, 1795; died at Nashville, Tennessee, June 15, 1849.
12. Zachary Taylor
March 4, 1849—July 9, 1850
born in Orange County, Virginia, Sept. 24, 1784; died at Washington, D. C., July 9, 1850.
13. Millard Fillmore
July 9, 1850–1853
born at Summer Hill, Cayuga County, New York, Feb. 7, 1800; died at Buffalo, New York, March 8, 1874. As Vice-President, he became President on the death of Zachary Taylor.
14. Franklin Pierce
1853–1857
born at Hillsborough, New Hampshire, Nov. 23, 1804; died at Concord, New Hampshire, Oct. 8, 1869.
15. James Buchanan
1857–1861
born in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, April 22, 1791; died at Wheatland, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, June 1, 1868.
16. Abraham Lincoln
1861–April 15, 1865
born in Hardin County, Kentucky, Feb. 12, 1809; died at Washington, D. C., April 15, 1865, six weeks after his inauguration for his second term as President.
17. Andrew Johnson
April 15, 1865–1869
born at Raleigh, North Carolina, Dec. 29, 1808; died in Carter County, Tennessee, July 31, 1875. As Vice-President, he became President on the death of Abraham Lincoln.
18. Ulysses Simpson Grant
1869–1877
born at Point Pleasant, Clermont County, Ohio, April 27, 1822; died near Saratoga, New York, July 23, 1885.
19. Rutherford Birchard
Hayes
1877–1881
born at Delaware, Ohio, Oct. 4, 1822; died at Fremont, Ohio, Jan. 17, 1893.
20. James Abram Garfield
March 4, 1881—Sept. 19, 1881
born at Orange, Cuyahoga County, Ohio, Nov. 19, 1831; died at Elberon, New Jersey, Sept. 19, 1881. He was shot in the railway station at Washington, July 2, 1881.
21. Chester Alan Arthur
Sept. 19, 1881–1885
born at Fairfield, Vermont, Oct. 5, 1830; died at New York, Nov. 18, 1886. As Vice-President, he became President on the death of James Abram Garfield.

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| 22. Grover Cleveland
1885-1889 | born at Caldwell, New Jersey, March 18, 1837; died at Princeton, New Jersey, June 24, 1908. |
| 23. Benjamin Harrison
1889-1893 | born at North Bend, Ohio, August 20, 1833; died at Indianapolis, Indiana, March 13, 1901. He was the grandson of William Henry Harrison. |
| 24. Grover Cleveland
1893-1897 | was elected for a second term after Benjamin Harrison, becoming thus both the twenty-second and the twenty-fourth President. |
| 25. William McKinley
1897-Sept. 14, 1901 | born at Niles, Ohio, Jan. 29, 1843; died at Buffalo, New York, Sept. 14, 1901. While attending the Pan-American Exposition, he was shot by an anarchist in Buffalo, Sept. 6, 1901, during his second term as President. |
| 26. Theodore Roosevelt
Sept. 14, 1901-1909 | born at New York, Oct. 27, 1858; died at Oyster Bay, Long Island, Jan. 6, 1919. As Vice-President, he became President on the death of William McKinley, and in 1905 was elected to a second term. |
| 27. William Howard Taft
1909-1913 | born at Cincinnati, Ohio, Sept. 15, 1857. |
| 28. Woodrow Wilson
1913-1921 | born at Staunton, Virginia, Dec. 28, 1856; died at Washington, D. C., Feb. 3, 1924. |
| 29. Warren Gamaliel Harding
1921-Aug. 2, 1923 | born in Morrow County, Ohio, Nov. 2, 1865; died at San Francisco, California, Aug. 2, 1923. |
| 30. Calvin Coolidge
Aug. 2, 1923- | born at Plymouth, Vermont, July 4, 1872. As Vice-President, he became President on the death of Warren Gamaliel Harding. |

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